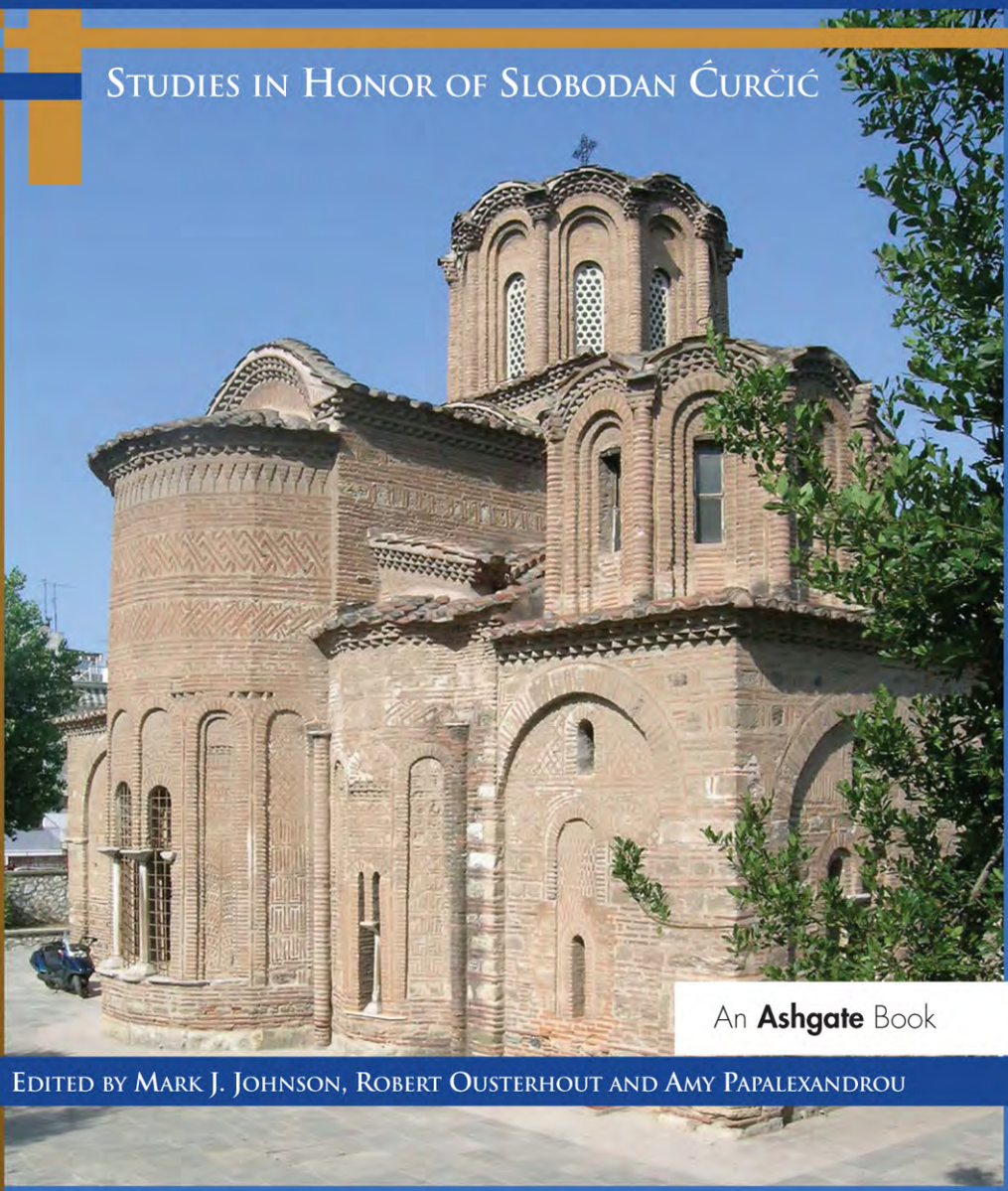
Approaches to Byzantine Architecture and its Decoration

Studies in Honor of Slobodan Ćurčić



An **Ashgate** Book

Edited by Mark J. Johnson, Robert Ousterhout and Amy Papalexandrou

Approaches to Byzantine Architecture and its Decoration

The fourteen essays in this collection demonstrate a wide variety of approaches to the study of Byzantine architecture and its decoration, a reflection of both newer trends and traditional scholarship in the field. The variety is also a reflection of Professor Ćurčić's wide interests, which he shares with his students. These include the analysis of recent archaeological discoveries; recovery of lost monuments through archival research and onsite examination of material remains; reconsidering traditional typological approaches often ignored in current scholarship; fresh interpretations of architectural features and designs; contextualization of monuments within the landscape; tracing historiographic trends; and mining neglected written sources for motives of patronage.

The papers also range broadly in terms of chronology and geography, from the Early Christian through the post-Byzantine period and from Italy to Armenia. Three papers examine Early Christian monuments, and of these two expand the inquiry into their architectural afterlives. Others discuss later monuments in Byzantine territory and monuments in territories related to Byzantium such as Serbia, Armenia, and Norman Italy. No Orthodox church being complete without interior decoration, two papers discuss issues connected with frescoes in late medieval Balkan churches. Finally, one study investigates the continued influence of Byzantine palace architecture long after the fall of Constantinople.

Mark J. Johnson is Professor of Medieval Art and Architectural History at Brigham Young University, USA.

Robert Ousterhout is Professor and Graduate Chair in the Department of the History of Art at the University of Pennsylvania, USA.

Amy Papalexandrou is an Independent Scholar and Lecturer at the University of Texas at Austin, USA.

Approaches to Byzantine Architecture and its Decoration

Studies in Honor of Slobodan Ćurčić

Edited by
Mark J. Johnson, Robert Ousterhout, and
Amy Papalexandrou

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group
LONDON AND NEW YORK

First published 2012 by Ashgate Publishing

Published 2016 by Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN
711 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017, USA

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

Copyright © 2012 Mark J. Johnson, Robert Ousterhout, Amy Papalexandrou and contributors

Mark J. Johnson, Robert Ousterhout, and Amy Papalexandrou have asserted their right under the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act, 1988, to be identified as the

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilised in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

Notice:
Product or corporate names may be trademarks or registered trademarks, and are used only for identification and explanation without intent to infringe.

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
Approaches to Byzantine architecture and its decoration: studies in honor of Slobodan Ćurčić.
1. Architecture, Byzantine. 2. Decoration and ornament, Byzantine. 3. Decoration and ornament, Architectural–Byzantine Empire. 4. Religious architecture–Byzantine Empire.
I. Ćurčić, Slobodan. II. Johnson, Mark Joseph. III. Ousterhout, Robert G. IV. Papalexandrou, Amy, 1963–
723.2–dc22

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
Approaches to Byzantine architecture and its decoration : studies in honor of Slobodan Ćurčić / [editors], Mark J. Johnson, Robert Ousterhout, and Amy Papalexandrou.
p. cm.
Includes index.
ISBN 978-1-4094-2740-7 (hardcover : alk. paper) 1. Architecture, Byzantine. 2. Decoration and ornament, Architectural. I. Ćurčić, Slobodan. II. Johnson, Mark Joseph. III. Ousterhout, Robert G. IV. Papalexandrou, Amy, 1963– V. Title: Studies in honor of Slobodan Ćurčić.
NA370.A67 2011
723'.2–dc22

2011017015

ISBN 9781409427407 (hbk)

Contents

List of Figures *ix*
List of Abbreviations *xvii*

A Tribute to Slobodan Ćurčić, Scholar and Friend 1
Svetlana Popović

Introduction: Approaches to Byzantine Architecture and the Contribution of Slobodan Ćurčić 11
Mark J. Johnson, Robert Ousterhout, and Amy Papalexandrou

Part I: The Meanings of Architecture

1 Polis/Arsinoë in Late Antiquity: A Cypriot Town and its Sacred Sites 27
Amy Papalexandrou

2 The Syntax of *Spolia* in Byzantine Thessalonike 47
Ludovico V. Geymonat

3 Church Building and Miracles in Norman Italy: Texts and *Topoi* 67
Mark J. Johnson

4 Armenia and the Borders of Medieval Art 83
Christina Maranci

Part II: The Fabrics of Buildings

5 Change in Byzantine Architecture 99
Marina Mihaljević

6 Prolegomena for a Study of Royal Entrances in Byzantine Churches: The Case of Marko's Monastery 121
Ida Sinkević

7 The Rose Window: A Feature of Byzantine Architecture? 143
Jelena Trkulja

Part III: The Contexts and Contents of Buildings

8 Between the Mountain and the Lake: Tower, Folklore, and the Monastery at Agios Vasileios near Thessalonike 165
Nikolas Bakirtzis

9 Life in a Late Byzantine Tower: Examples from Northern Greece 187
Jelena Bogdanović

10 Imperial and Aristocratic Funerary Panel Portraits in the Middle and Late Byzantine Periods 203
Katherine Marsengill

11 Man or Metaphor? Manuel Panselinos and the Protaton Frescoes 221
Matthew J. Milliner

Part IV: The Afterlife of Buildings

12 Two Byzantine Churches of Silivri/Selymbria 239
Robert Ousterhout

13 Interpreting Medieval Architecture through Renovations: The Roof of the Old Basilica of San Paolo fuori le Mura in Rome 259
Nicola Camerlenghi

14 The Edifices of the New Justinian: Catherine the Great Regaining Byzantium 277
Asen Kirin

Bibliography of Published Writings 299
Index 305

List of Figures

1.1 Map of Cyprus showing locations of Polis and other sites mentioned in the text (drawing: Brandon E. Johnson). 28
1.2 Polis, Basilica A and surroundings, site-plan (drawing: Krista Ziemba, Princeton Cyprus Expedition Archive). 31
1.3 Polis, Basilica A, ancillary structure with later burials east of church, from east (photo: Princeton Cyprus Expedition Archive). 32
1.4 Polis, pendent crosses from Basilica A (photo: Princeton Cyprus Expedition Archive). 33
1.5 Polis, Basilica B, plan (drawing: Charles Nicklies, Princeton Cyprus Expedition Archive). 34
1.6 Polis, capital from the area of Basilica B (photo: Princeton Cyprus Expedition Archive). 36
1.7 Polis, Basilica B, aerial view from west (photo: Princeton Cyprus Expedition Archive). 37
1.8 Polis, Basilica B, buckle (photo: Princeton Cyprus Expedition Archive). 38
1.9 Polis, Basilica B, lamp (photo: Princeton Cyprus Expedition Archive). 38

2.1 Thessalonike, Roman Agora. Plinths used as construction blocks, south side (photo: author). 48
2.2 Thessalonike, Palace of Galerius. Half column shaft used as a step in a staircase (photo: author). 48
2.3 Thessalonike, fortification walls. Ionic capitals and other *spolia*. On the right, Richard Krautheimer (photo: Slobodan Ćurčić, 1972). 50
2.4 Thessalonike, fortification walls. Column shafts (photo: author). 50
2.5 Thessalonike, fortification walls, western part (photo: author). 51
2.6 Classification of marble slabs, masons' marks, and inscriptions [from P. N. Papageorgiou, "Workmen Marks and Names of the

Marble Slabs from the Theater in Thessaloniki," *Archaiologike Ephemeris* (1911), 169]. 52
2.7 Thessalonike, Hagia Sophia. Capital with wind-swept acanthus leaves, north aisle (photo: Mark J. Johnson). 53
2.8 Thessalonike, Museum of Byzantine Culture. Painted marble slabs from Hagia Sophia (photo: author, with permission from the Greek Ministry of Culture & Tourism). 55
2.9 Thessalonike, Panagia Chalkeon, south façade (photo: Mark J. Johnson). 55
2.10 Thessalonike, Eptapyrgion. Main gate and tower (drawing by E. Malle, Ninth Ephoreia of Byzantine Antiquities, with permission). 56
2.11 Thessalonike, Eptapyrgion. *Spolia* and inscription on the main gate (photo: author, with permission from the Ninth Ephoreia of Byzantine Antiquities). 58
2.12 Thessalonike, Eptapyrgion. *Spolia* on the west bulwark of the entrance tower (photo: author, with permission of the Ninth Ephoreia of Byzantine Antiquities). 58
2.13 Thessalonike, Museum of Byzantine Culture. Impost block reused as a well-curb (photo: author, with permission from the Greek Ministry of Culture & Tourism). 60

3.1 Map of Southern Italy and Sicily showing location of churches (drawing: Brandon E. Johnson). 68
3.2 Cefalù Cathedral, begun 1131, west façade (photo: author). 69
3.3 Rossano (near), S. Maria di Patir, ca. 1100, exterior from east (photo: author). 71
3.4 Palermo, S. Spirito, 1178–1179, exterior from northeast (photo: author). 74
3.5 Palazzo Adriano, view of town from the northwest (photo: author). 78

4.1. Map of Armenia (drawing: Brandon E. Johnson). 85

5.1 Comparative plans of atrophied Greek-cross churches (drawing: author): A. Istanbul, Christ in Chora, hypothetical plan of the twelfth-century *katholikon* (after R. Ousterhout); B. Kurşunlu, St. Aberkios (after V. Sedov); C. Kuršumlija, Sv. Nikola (after M. Čanak-Medić); D. Yuşa Tepesi (after S. Eyice); E. Studenica, Church of the Virgin (after V. Korać); F. Asenova Krepost, Church of the Virgin Petrichka (after K. Miiatev). 100
5.2 Kuršumlija, Sv. Nikola. Exterior, from the northeast (photo: author). 102
5.3 Kuršumlija, Sv. Nikola. Interior of the naos, looking east (photo: author). 103

5.4 Kuršumlija, Sv. Nikola. Plan and section (author, after M. Čanak-Medić). 104
5.5 Kurşunlu, St. Aberkios. Exterior, from the northwest (photo: O. Dalgiç). 106
5.6 Kurşunlu, St. Aberkios. Conch of the main apse (photo: O. Dalgiç). 106
5.7 Kurşunlu, St. Aberkios. Interior of the naos, looking west (photo: author). 108
5.8 Asenova Krepost, Church of the Virgin Petrichka. South façade (photo: author). 110
5.9 Asenova Krepost, Church of the Virgin Petrichka. Interior of the naos, looking east (photo: author). 111
5.10 Studenica, Church of the Virgin. Exterior, from the northwest (photo: S. Barišić). 113

6.1 Skopje (near), Marko's Monastery. South façade (photo: Ljubomir Milanović). 122
6.2 Marko's Monastery, plan (drawing: Jelena Bogdanović). 124
6.3 Marko's Monastery, lunette above the south door (photo: Nebojša Stanković). 125
6.4 Marko's Monastery, bema (photo: Ljubomir Milanović). 126
6.5 Marko's Monastery, west and north wall (photo: author). 128
6.6 Marko's Monastery, north wall with warrior saints (photo: author). 129
6.7 Marko's Monastery, north wall with the Royal Deesis (photo: author). 131
6.8 Marko's Monastery, south door (photo: author). 132
6.9 Marko's Monastery, south wall (photo: author). 133

7.1 Kalenić Monastery, Church of the Presentation of the Holy Virgin. Exterior from south (photo: author). 144
7.2 Kruševac, Lazarica Monastery, Church of St. Stephen. North façade (photo: author). 146
7.3 Chios, Nea Moni. *Katholikon*. South façade (photo: author). 149
7.4 Chios, Exo Didyma, Panagia Sikelia. South façade (photo: author). 150
7.5 Latmos, Church no. 4. Sun disc (photo: author). 151
7.6 Skopje (near), Marko's Monastery, Church of St. Demetrios. North façade, central lunette with oculus (photo: author). 152
7.7 Treska, St. Nicholas Šiševski. Narthex, oculus (photo: author). 153
7.8 Kučevište, Church of the Holy Archangels. South façade (photo: author). 155
7.9 Constantinople (Istanbul), Tekfur Saray. North façade, detail (photo: author). 156

7.10 Mt. Athos, Hilandar Monastery, *katholikon*. Exonarthex, north façade (photo: D. Krstic). 157

8.1 Agios Vasileios tower. General view from the north (photo: author). 166
8.2 Map of Thessalonike and its hinterland during the Byzantine period, with locations of Mt. Chortiatis, the lakes Koroneia and Volve, Agios Vasileios, and Galatista (drawing: author and Michael Anderson). 167
8.3 Agios Vasileios village. General view with the tower from the northern slopes of Mt. Chortiatis. Note the receding size of Koroneia Lake (photo: author). 167
8.4 Ag. Vasileios tower. Plan (drawing: Michael Anderson after *Δίκτυο*, p. 302). 168
8.5 Ag. Vasileios tower. Northeast façade (photo: author). 168
8.6 Ag. Vasileios tower. Southeast façade (photo: author). 169
8.7 Ag. Vasileios tower. Southwest façade (photo: author). 170
8.8 Galatista tower. View from west (photo: author). 170

9.1 Byzantine Macedonia, with tower locations: [1] Ag. Vasileios, on Lake Koronia; [2] Galatista; [3] Mariana, near Olynthos; [4] Siderokausia; [5] Marmarion, near Amphipolis; [6] Ag. Georgios, near Amphipolis; [7] Apollonia; [8] Tower of Orestes at Serres; [9] Towers of St. Sava and King Milutin, at Hilandar; [10] Tower of Koletsou, near Vatopaidi (drawing: author). 188
9.2 Tower at Mariana, near Olynthos, exterior view (photo by P. Theocharides, *Essay*, fig. 34). 189
9.3 Tower of Marmarion, near Amphipolis. Detail of banded voussoirs (photo: Y. Yannelos, from Zikos, *Amphipolis*, fig. 18). 191
9.4 Tower at Galatista, Chalkidiki. Exterior view (photo by S. Ćurčić, from Theocharides, "Galatista," fig. 5). 192
9.5 Towers of Mariana and Kolitsou. Comparative analysis of the plans and cross-sections (drawing: author, after Theocharides, "Mariana," fig. 6, and idem, "Kaletzi (Kolitsou)," fig. 3). 193
9.6 Tower at Mariana, near Olynthos. Detail of brick monogram in the exterior wall (photo: S. Ćurčić). 197

10.1 Istanbul, Kariye Camii, Tomb G. Portrait of the deceased with the Virgin. Fresco (photo: Paul A. Underwood, *The Kariye Djami*, vols. 1–3, 1966, Princeton University Press, reprinted with the permission of Princeton University Press). 205

10.2 Lincoln College Typikon (ms gr. 35), fol. 1v. Constantine Palaeologos and Eirene. Tempera on vellum (photo: Oxford, Lincoln College). 208
10.3 Gisant of Ivan Alexander (fragment), originally from Tŭrnovo. Sofia, Archaeological Institute (photo: Slobodan Ćurčić). 210
10.4 Maria of Mangop, funerary textile Epitaphios with Maria of Mangop. Gold thread and silk, ca. 1476. Putna, Muzcal Monastirii (photo and copyright: Putna Monastery. Used with permission). 212
10.5 Icon of Apa Abraham. Berlin, Staatliche Museen (photo: Wikimedia Commons, Andreas Praefcke). 213
10.6 Icon of Mark the Evangelist (photo with permission of Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Cabinet des Médailles). 214
10.7 Alexander commissioning a portrait to send to Queen Kandake. Alexander Romance, fol. 143v (photo: Copyright Istituto Ellenico di Venezia). 216

11.1 Karyes, Mt. Athos. Protaton Church, plan (drawing: author, after D. Amponis). 223
11.2 Protaton Church, fresco of the Presentation of the Virgin, with scaffolding (photo: author). 224
11.3 Protaton Church, fresco of saints, with scaffolding (photo: author). 225
11.4 Protaton Church, exterior view from the east, showing scaffolding and protective cover in 2006 (photo: author). 231

12.1 Monograms from the capitals from the church of St. John, as recorded by Anastasios Stamoules, from *Ho en Konstantinoupolei Hellenikos Philologikos Syllogos* 6 (1871–1872): 246, with shading added to show the proper grouping of letters. 240
12.2 Monogram reading *Alexios, Apokauchos, Ktetor, Apokauchos, and Parakoimomenos* from the church of St. John, as published by Gustave Mendel, *Musées Impériaux Ottomans*. Catalogue des sculptures grecques, romaines et Byzantines (Istanbul, 1914), 2: 561–2 (nos. 761, 763, 765, 766). 241
12.3 Church of St. John, site plan (after S. Eyice, "Encore une fois l'église d'Alexis Apocauque à Selymbria (=Silivri)," *Byzantion* 48 (1978): fig. 2). 244
12.4 Church of St. John, seen from the southeast, ca. 1912–1913 (photograph by Stéfane Tchaprachinkov, Bulgarian National Archive). 244
12.5 Church of St. John, detail of the diakonikon apse, ca. 1912–1913 (photograph by Stéfane Tchaprachinkov, Bulgarian National Archive). 246

12.6 Church of St. John, interior of the naos looking east, ca. 1912–1913 (photograph by Stéfane Tchaprachinkov, Bulgarian National Archive). 246
12.7 Church of St. John, restored plan (after S. Eyice, "Encore une fois l'église d'Alexis Apocauque à Selymbria (=Silivri)," *Byzantion* 48 (1978): fig. 3). 247
12.8 Church of St. Spyridon, restored plan and elevation (after Horst Hallensleben, "Die ehemalige Spyridonkirche in Silivri (Selymbria) – eine Achtstützenkirche im Gebiet Konstantinopels," *Studien zur spätantiken und byzantinischen Kunst Friedrich Wilhelm Deichmann gewidmet*, ed. Otto Feld and Urs Peschlow (Mainz, 1986), 1: 40, fig. 1). 250
12.9 Church of St. Spyridon seen through the eastern city wall ca. 1912–1913 (photograph by Stéfane Tchaprachinkov, Bulgarian National Archive). 251
12.10 Citadel of Selymbria seen from the southeast, by Johann Christian Kamsetzer, detail (Uniwersytet Warszawski, Gabinet Rycin Biblioteki Uniwersyteckiej, Zb. Krol., T 173 no. 206a). 252
12.11 Church of St. Spyridon, before 1903 (photograph by Ant. K. P. Stamoules, Athens, Christian Archaeological Society, photograph XAE 3455). 252

13.1 Ascanio Conte de Brazzà, *Incendio di S. Paolo*, lithograph, 1823. 262
13.2 Giovanni Paolo Pannini, *Basilica of San Paolo*, oil on canvas, 1741. 262
13.3 Jean Baptiste Rondelet, Roman trusses, lithograph. 265
13.4 Paul Marie Letarouilly, *Intérieur de la Basilique de St Paul (S. Paolo) Hors les Murs*, lithograph. 265
13.5 Paul Marie Letarouilly, *Détails divers de la Basilique de St Paul*, lithograph. 266
13.6 Antonio Acquaroni, *Veduta interna della Basilica di S. Paolo presa immediatamente dopo il suo incendio*, engraving, 1823. 270

14.1 Vladimir Lukich Borovokovskii, *Catherine the Great Walking in the Park at Tsarskoe Selo*, oil on canvas, 94 x 66 cm, Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow. 278
14.2 Tsarkoe Selo, grounds, including the Great Pond, Chesme Column, and the city of Sofia with the cathedral of St. Sophia (drawing by Ashley M. Crosby). 281
14.3 Kekereksinen, general plan, pen and ink, watercolor, attributed to Iurii Fel'ten, 1777. Legend: "General plan of Her Imperial Majesty's dacha called Kekereksino located along the road to Tsarskoe Selo at a distance of 7 *versts* from St. Petersburg." A. main house, B. church under construction, C. manmade knoll

where a gazebo can be built, D. lake, E. sites for the construction of workhouses, F. sites for the construction of servants' houses, G. gates with [draw-] bridges, H. moat, I. road to Tsarskoe Selo (Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, HTHC 5492). 283

14.4 Kekereksinen Palace, elevation, pen and ink, watercolor, attributed to Iurii Fel'ten. Legend: "Façade of the main house built at the Kekereksinen Dacha" (Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, HTHC 5498). The scale bar here and in following drawings is in the old Russian measuring unit *sazhen* (1 *sazhen* = 2.1336 m). 286

14.5 Kekereksinen Palace, ground plan of the first floor, pen and ink, watercolor, attributed to Iurii Fel'ten. Legend: "[ground] plan of the main house's lower story shown on the general plan under the letter 'A'" (Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, HTHC 5496). 287

14.6 Kekereksinen, church dedicated to the Birth of St. John the Baptist, west façade, pen and ink, watercolor, attributed to Iurii Fel'ten. Legend: "Façade of the church, now under construction, at the Kekereksinen Dacha" (Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, HTHC 5495). 288

14.7 Kekereksinen, Church dedicated to the Birth of St. John the Baptist, Ground Plan, pen and ink, watercolor, attributed to Iurii Fel'ten. Legend: "[ground] plan of the church, now under construction, shown on the general plan under the letter 'B'" (Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, HTHC 5494). 290

14.8 Green Frog dinner service, round dish cover; original legend for the image reads "Vue du Château de Longford, résidence du Comte de Randor" (St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum, Inv. No. 8459). 292

14.9 Longford Castle, façade, from *Vitruvius Britannicus* 4, by J. Woolfe and J. Gandon (London 1767–1771). 292

14.10 Longford Castle, ground plans of the first and second stories, from *Vitruvius Britannicus* 4, by J. Woolfe and J. Gandon (London 1767–1771). 294

List of Abbreviations

AA	*Auctores antiquissimi*
AASS	*Acta sanctorum,* 71 vols (Paris 1863–1940)
AB	*Analecta Bollandiana*
AHR	*American Historical Review*
AJ	*Archaeological Journal*
AJA	*American Journal of Archaeology*
ArchDelt	*Archaiologike Deltion*
ArchEpMitt	*Archäologisch-epigraphische Mitteilungen aus Österreich-Ungarn*
ArhPr	*Archeološki pregled*
ArtB	*Art Bulletin*
ASRSP	*Archivio della Società romana di storia patria*
AStCal	*Archivio storico per la Calabria e la Lucania*
AStSic	*Archivio storico siciliano*
BA	*Bollettino d'arte*
BAR	*British Archaeological Reports*
BCH	*Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*
BMGS	*Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*
BSA	*The Annual of the British School at Athens*
BSCAbstr	*Byzantine Studies Conference, Abstracts of Papers*
BSl	*Byzantinoslavica*
ByzF	*Byzantinische Forschungen*
ByzSt	*Byzantine Studies/Études Byzantines*
BZ	*Byzantinische Zeitschrift*
CahArch	*Cahiers archéologiques*

CEB	*Congrès international des Etudes Byzantines: Actes*
CFHB	*Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae*
CorsiRav	*Corsi di cultura sull'arte ravennate e bizantina*
Ćurčić and Hadjitryphonos	*Secular Medieval Architecture Secular Medieval Architecture in the Balkans, 1300–1500, and Its Preservation*, ed. S. Ćurčić and E. Hadjitryphonos (Thessalonike, 1997)
DChAE	*Deltion tes Christianikes Archaiologikes Hetaireias*
DOP	*Dumbarton Oaks Papers*
DOS	*Dumbarton Oaks Studies*
Ep	*Epistulae*
EpEtByzSp	*Epeteris Etaireias Byzantinon Spoudon*
GOTR	*Greek Orthodox Theological Review*
GRBS	*Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*
HilZib	*Hilandarski zbornik*
IstMitt	*Istanbuler Mitteilungen*
JHS	*Journal of Hellenic Studies*
JÖB	*Jahrbuch der Österrreichischen Byzantinistik*
JRA	*Journal of Roman Archaeology*
JRS	*Journal of Roman Studies*
JSAH	*Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*
JTS	*Journal of Theological Studies*
JWCI	*Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*
Krautheimer, *ECBA*	Richard Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, 4th edn, with Slobodan Ćurčić (Harmondsworth, 1986)
MAAR	*Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*
MélRome	*Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire, Ecole française de Rome*
MGH	*Monumenta Germaniae Historica*
MünchJb	*Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*
ODB	*The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, ed. A. Kazhdan et al., 3 vols (New York and Oxford, 1991)
PL	*Patrologiae cursus completes. Series Latina*, ed. J.-P. Migne, 221 vols (Paris, 1844–1880)
PPTS	*Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society*
RA	*Revue archéologique*

RDAC	*Report of the Department of Antiquities. Cyprus*
REArm	*Revue des études arméniennes*
ROC	*Revue de l'Orient chréien*
RSBN	*Rivista di studi bizantini e neoellenici*
ScriptrerLangob	*Scriptores rerum Langobardicarum et Italicarum*
SR	*Slavic Review*
TM	*Travaux et mémoires*
WJKg	*Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*
ZbFilozFak	*Zbornik Filozofskog fakukteta* [Belgrade]
ZbLikUmet	*Zbornik za likovné umetnosti*
ZKunstg	*Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*
ZKunstw	*Zeitschrift für Kunstwissenschaft*
ZRVI	*Zbornik radova Vizantološkog Instituta,* Srpska akademija nauka

A Tribute to Slobodan Ćurčić, Scholar and Friend

Svetlana Popović

I first met Slobodan Ćurčić in September 1985 in Belgrade. While I was already familiar with his scholarly work, I had not yet had the opportunity to meet him personally. Then the Serbian Academy of Arts and Sciences organized an international symposium, "Dečani and Byzantine Art in the Fourteenth Century," with Slobodan Ćurčić as one of the keynote speakers. On a pleasant September morning, as we participants chatted before boarding the buses in Belgrade's Republic Square to travel to the monastery of Dečani in Kosovo, one of my colleagues introduced me to Professor Ćurčić. With a friendly smile he mentioned that he had read some of my papers, but had not had an opportunity to meet me earlier. I was glad to be introduced to him, never thinking that this would mark the beginning of a fruitful scholarly collaboration and sincere friendship.

Now, after nearly three decades, on the occasion of celebrating Professor Ćurčić's successful career, his students have asked me to write about their professor and my dear friend. I am happy to accept this invitation.

Slobodan Ćurčić was educated in two different environments, both of which had a great impact on his later professional accomplishments. More precisely, he was educated in two different countries—the former Yugoslavia and the United States of America. He was born in Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina (formerly Yugoslavia), during the turbulent beginnings of World War II, on 19 December 1940. In wartime, under pressures and threats, his Serbian parents and their newborn son left Sarajevo for the security of Belgrade, which became Slobodan's native town. He received his elementary and high school education in Belgrade, in a family of academics, his father becoming a distinguished professor in the school of Technical Sciences at the University of Belgrade. Slobodan Ćurčić continued his studies in the United States, at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, where he could be near the family of his maternal aunt and uncle in Chicago. There he

received the degrees of Bachelor (1964) and Master (1965) of Architecture at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. He continued his graduate studies with the celebrated professor Richard Krautheimer at the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, and earned his Ph.D. in Art History (1975). Today, Slobodan Ćurčić is an internationally recognized scholar in Byzantine studies, specializing in Byzantine architecture and art. He has dedicated his entire career to research and teaching, beginning in the Department of Architecture at the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, where he taught for 11 years (1971–1982), and in the Department of Art and Archaeology at Princeton University (1982–2010).

Slobodan Ćurčić has long since been recognized as a serious student of Byzantine art. He received a prize for the best dissertation dealing with an art historical subject on Eastern Europe, awarded jointly by the American Council of Learned Societies and the Social Science Research Council (1977). Numerous fellowships, awards, and distinctions followed this first award. Professor Ćurčić was the chairman of his department (1988–1990) and has served in a variety of other positions at Princeton, most recently as director of the Program in Hellenic Studies. Outside his university, he was a member of the Senior Fellows Committee at Dumbarton Oaks in Washington, D.C. (1983–1989), a member of the UNESCO Mission to Kosovo in 2003, and a member of the UNESCO Experts Committee on the Rehabilitation and Safeguarding of Cultural Heritage in Kosovo (formed by the Director-General of UNESCO in 2005). He became a member of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Belgrade (1997), and an honorary member of the Christian Archaeological Society, Athens (2004). These are only the highlights of a rich professional career that has produced many books, scholarly articles, papers, and lectures presented nationally and internationally. Some aspects of his scholarship, especially related to Byzantine architecture, bear further elaboration, and I shall focus my comments here on these.

Many years ago, in conversation, I asked him what had persuaded him to become an architectural historian rather than a practicing architect. With little hesitation he answered that his decision had depended on job opportunities and environments: he decided that if he found a job in Belgrade, he would be a practicing architect, but if he found a job in the United States, he would become an architectural historian. Today we know that his choice resulted in a successful professional career and that he established himself as one of the world's leading scholars of Byzantine art and especially architecture.

One may ask why he dedicated his career to Byzantine studies. It would seem that the rich Byzantine heritage of his native country made a great impact on his scholarly choice.

Slobodan Ćurčić's architectural training created an important foundation for his research and studies of Byzantine architecture, leading to a deeper understanding of a building's structure, construction techniques, and design.

From the beginning, archaeological investigation and site surveys played an important role. He knew that without first-hand contact with architectural remains on the site, whether of an individual building or an entire complex, one cannot develop a full understanding and deliver accurate judgments of their original design, purpose, and meaning. Thus, Slobodan Ćurčić was involved in archaeological fieldwork and site surveys throughout his career. As archaeologist, architect-surveyor, and architectural historian, he was in charge of the theoretical reconstruction of the Late Roman hippodrome at Sirmium (Sremska Mitrovica, Yugoslavia). He later undertook a study of the architecture and architectural history of the Martorana in Palermo, Sicily. He was also involved in a study of the excavated remains of an Early Christian basilica at Nemea in Greece, and served as architectural historian-archaeologist for the archaeological excavation of ancient Marion (modern Polis) in Cyprus, to mention only a few important undertakings. More recently, we were both engaged in the field investigation and study for the joint project "Corpus of Late Medieval Ecclesiastical Architecture of Serbia 1355–1459." Unfortunately, the project was abruptly discontinued in the 1990s as a result of the political situation in the Balkans, and resulted in only one volume, devoted to the fourteenth-century monastery church of Naupara (Belgrade, 2000).

Slobodan's scholarly contributions are not limited to architectural analysis of the major Byzantine monuments from different time periods of Byzantine history, but also reveal specific architectural issues including analysis of style through the articulation of church façades, the question of local and regional workshops, design and structural innovations in Early Byzantine architecture, analysis of the relevance and irrelevance of space in Byzantine ecclesiastical architecture. The most focused attention is on medieval and Byzantine architecture in the Balkans, discussed below. I would like first to comment on his achievements in the study of Late Antique and Byzantine architecture in general.

A specific interest in Late Antique palaces and their architectural and urban settings resulted in a study and re-examination of fundamental aspects of palatine architecture ["Late Antique Palaces: The Meaning of Urban Context," *Ars Orientalis* 23 (1993): 67–90]. By parallel analysis of remaining examples of Late Antique and Early Byzantine palaces, Ćurčić emphasized their urban character. For example, he proposed convincingly that the so-called palace of Diocletian in Split was a small city with a palace within it. Furthermore, he demonstrated that certain urban architectural forms—baths, triumphal arches located close to the palace entrances—were appropriated from the urban context and applied in palatine architecture. As Ćurčić writes, "during this period city gates—at least on a symbolic level—began to be associated with imperial palaces."

The investigation of Late Antiquity remained one of the important questions in Ćurčić's scholarly work. One of his articles examines how monotheistic ideas made an impact on the formation of the architectural space in Late Antiquity ["From the Temple of the Sun to the Temple of the Lord: Monotheistic Contribution to Architectural Iconography in Late Antiquity," *Architectural Studies in Memory of Richard Krautheimer*, ed. C. L. Striker (Mainz, 1996), 55–9]. By exploring a variety of examples, he confirmed the planning prototype of a single centralized building situated in the center of a vast rectangular court enclosed by a wall. Exploring various models, from Aurelian's Temple of the Sun to the mausolea of Maxentius and Constantine and the related church of the Holy Apostles, to numerous Early Christian examples of freestanding church buildings in large open courtyards, he concluded that all represent a very broad framework in which a similar iconographic model is repeated. The model's conceptual consistency and its repetition over a long period of time, from the pagan worshippers to early Christians, coincided with the increasing significance of monotheism focused on the cult of the sun god. Thus Ćurčić believed that the planning objectives of Roman imperial mausolea and early Christian churches in large open courtyards originate in monotheism. In his own words, "the architectural scheme … was the most suitable iconographic formula for conveying the concept of the oneness of God and His central place in the Universe."

The role of religious beliefs and practices in the daily lives of the Byzantines and their impact on the design of secular architecture—more specifically on the house—held a special interest for Ćurčić. One of his studies defined what is meant by the term "house" and explored what made Byzantine houses different from earlier examples. ["The House in the Byzantine World," in *Everyday Life in Byzantium*, ed. D. Papanikola-Bakirtzi (Athens, 2002), 228–38]. Elaborating on the newest archaeological finds of Byzantine residential architecture, Ćurčić further emphasized that in the early periods, between the late fourth and mid sixth centuries, a single feature distinguished a Christian Byzantine house from its pagan counterpart—its private place for worship. Although identification of the worship place or private chapel is not an easy task in the early period, Ćurčić pointed out a few examples where the miniature basilican form of the space and orientation of the apse revealed its religious function within the house property. Through further archaeological examples he concluded that large private houses of the Middle Byzantine period incorporated private chapels within residential complexes, while the category of modest houses from the same period is more difficult to assess. Combining a few archaeological finds with more informative written sources that record possession of icons in private households, Ćurčić concluded that these houses did not have private chapels, "but that an icon, or several icons on their walls may have served a comparable purpose." Additional change occurred in the later development of private houses in smaller cities and in

village settlements of the Late Byzantine period with a new phenomenon—the appearance of semi-private "neighborhood" churches.

Ćurčić also reexamined urban and architectural developments in the city of Thessalonike during Late Antiquity [*Some Observations and Questions Regarding Early Christian Architecture in Thessaloniki* (Thessalonike, 2000)]. Admitting at the outset that although the city "truly holds pride of place among the cities of the world of Late Antiquity," paradoxically the major Early Christian buildings and their history remained obscure. According to Ćurčić, "the history of Early Christian Thessaloniki is yet to be written." In his study Ćurčić primarily concentrated on the building history, original function, and later transformation of the celebrated Rotunda. Through meticulous parallel analysis of currently available historical, archaeological, and architectural sources, he proposed conclusions "outlined strictly as working hypotheses." We cannot predict if future investigation will turn hypothesis into fact, but the proposed solutions look promising.

Although the Rotunda remained his focus, he reconsidered it in a broader relationship to other important buildings of Early Christian Thessalonike. He concluded that the Rotunda was begun as a mausoleum for Emperor Constantine the Great in 322–323; Constantine later changed his plans and built a new mausoleum for himself in Constantinople. Damaged by an earthquake in 363, the Rotunda remained semi-ruinous and was repaired and converted into a Christian church by Emperor Theodosius I ca. 390. In the sixth century, during the special circumstances that affected the city's original cathedral, the Rotunda presumably replaced it as the Episcopal Church. The building later underwent extensive repairs in the course of the ninth century, not in the seventh as was assumed earlier. Finally, "certainly before 904," the function of cathedral was returned to Hagia Sophia. All the statements in this conclusion represent a new challenging proposal in part grounded in the artifacts and in part still awaiting archaeological confirmation. Even as a working hypothesis, however, they offer a fresh breath to scholarship and point to new directions for further investigation.

The medieval and Byzantine Balkans, its architecture, art, and history are among the major fields of investigation in Ćurčić's scholarship. His annotated bibliography dedicated to the art and architecture of the Balkans was the first of its kind and will remain as a landmark for further investigation [*Art and Architecture in the Balkans: An Annotated Bibliography* (Boston, MA, 1984)]. He also raises the question of the Eastern and Western scholarly traditions in Byzantine studies and the relationship between them.

The historiography of architectural and archaeological investigation in the Balkans is yet to be written, but some of the basic studies dedicated to the art and architecture of the Balkans date from the beginning of the twentieth century and were written by French (C. Diehl; G. Millet), Russian (P. P. Pokryshkin; N. P. Kondakov) and English (A. Van Millingen; F. H. Jackson) scholars. The

engagement of foreign scholars was related to actual political circumstances at the beginning of the twentieth century. The fundamental studies related to art and architecture written by foreigners had a decisive impact on regional scholarship and on national historiographies (Greek, Serbian, Bulgarian). It is also important to mention that the periodization schemes and divisions into local schools established in these early studies have been significantly challenged by recent investigation, necessitating a serious historiographical re-examination.

An additional problem in current scholarship is the language barrier. During the second half of the twentieth century, significant archaeological and field investigations were undertaken in various regions of the Balkans, resulting in individual or case studies related to the Byzantine and medieval heritage. Although some of those studies were published in English or French, most of them were never translated from the local languages, including very important reports from field investigations. Some crucial results of current scholarship therefore remain known only to a limited extent. Numerous conferences organized on either side of the East–West language barrier often resulted in partial knowledge of the scholarly problems becoming entrenched within these parallel lines of scholarship, only on rare occasions being overcome.

In contrast, Slobodan Ćurčić's scholarly work is equally well informed about Eastern as well as Western scholarship. Because of his knowledge of Slavic and major West European languages, he remains equally engaged on both sides and in both scholarly worlds. These intercultural skills have proved fundamentally important for his scholarly work, both in interpretation and dissemination.

The fourteenth-century church of the Dormition at Gračanica Monastery (Kosovo), founded by the Serbian king Stefan Uroš II Milutin, received its first monographic treatment, in both English and Serbian, at the hands of Slobodan Ćurčić. This book remains the most important study of Serbian architecture published in English [*Gračanica: King Milutin's Church and its Place in Late Byzantine Architecture* (University Park, PA, 1979)]. Designed and built by the best Byzantine builders brought by King Milutin to Serbia, Gračanica is a jewel of Late Byzantine architectural design. The five-domed church with its slim drums reaches a great height—an elevation of architectural form not found elsewhere in Late Byzantine architecture. Ćurčić analyzed all aspects of its architectural design, from the planning pattern, structural design, building techniques, and façade decoration, to the proportion and scale of the entirety. Analyzing its place in Late Byzantine architecture, Ćurčić concluded that although its architectural design is related to the architecture of Thessalonike, the church of the Dormition at Gračanica "exceeds its presumed models in the sophistication of its planning and the formal integration of its component parts, resulting in a pronounced accentuation of its verticality." One of

the important questions that Ćurčić posed is the original function of King Milutin's foundation and whether it was built to serve as a royal mausoleum. Analyzing all the relevant sources and material artifacts, he concluded that the church was indeed intended for Milutin's own burial but was subsequently abandoned for political reasons. Ćurčić's conclusion about the original function of Gračanica remains unchallenged in contemporary scholarship.

Ćurčić's research into the Late Byzantine architecture of the Balkans resulted in an important study of the articulation of Serbian church façades in the first half of the fourteenth century as the result of mutual influences from Byzantine and Western building traditions. According to Ćurčić, input from the Adriatic coast in some cases resulted in the establishment of local workshops that profoundly influenced regional architectural practices ["Two Examples of Local Building Workshops in Fourteenth-Century Serbia," *Zograf* 7 (1977): 45–51].

Ćurčić also reconsidered the city of Thessalonike and its influence on architectural developments in the Late Byzantine period ["The Role of Late Byzantine Thessalonike in Church Architecture in the Balkans," *DOP* 57 (2003): 65–84]. Concentrating on the ecclesiastical architecture of the period and especially on the architectural design and articulation of domes, he concluded that "the hallmark of Thessalonian building practice, as it emerged during the first two decades of the fourteenth century, was a very distinctive type of church dome." He therefore proposed the use of the new term "Thessalonian dome." His proposition was based on certain architectural characteristics in the design of the domes created in Thessalonike: "polygonal in plan, its corners are marked by rounded colonnettes, while its faces feature triple-arched skewbacks, the innermost one framing a single-light window."

This specific building paradigm, according to Ćurčić, became the favorite type and spread over the wider region of the Balkans. He concluded that the role of Thessalonike as the center of major architectural activity in the first decades of the fourteenth century was related to the reconstitution of the Byzantine Empire, followed by economic recovery and the emergence of a new idiosyncratic architectural style and building manner that "came out as a blending of experience brought in by builders from Epiros and the Empire of Nicaea." Elaborating further on the role of Thessalonike in the development of fourteenth-century ecclesiastical architecture in the Balkans, Ćurčić pointed out that this influence was restricted both geographically and chronologically. It was paralleled by the influx of building methods from Epiros, "emanating at the time from another newly risen prosperous center city of Ohrid," and later from the third major center of regional architectural production—Skopje, the capital of Stefan Dušan's short-lived Serbo-Greek Empire.

Secular medieval and Byzantine architecture in the Balkans, a subject which had never been articulated in historiography, was the significant scholarly agenda undertaken by Slobodan Ćurčić and Evangelia Hadjitryphonos, who

organized a major exhibition, the first of its kind, and edited a book entitled *Secular Medieval Architecture in the Balkans 1300–1500 and its Preservation* (Thessalonike, 1997). Ninety-four secular architectural monuments from nine Balkan countries were represented in the exhibition and its catalogue, which addressed urban entities, town fortifications, fortresses, citadels and forts, towers, palaces and houses, public baths and water supply, and industrial buildings and bridges. The significance for scholarship of both exhibition and catalogue is enormous in two ways: the exhibition brought to light a little-known and understudied category of architectural heritage, and the catalogue is the first publication of its kind, since no general book on any aspect of medieval architecture in the Balkans existed previously. I highlight some of its complex subject matter.

In the introductory chapter entitled "The Age of Insecurity," Ćurčić notes the historical circumstances and turbulent times that characterized the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in the Balkans and the variety of phenomena affecting its built environment. Paradoxically, and most surprising under the circumstances, is the revival of urbanism. Although Thessalonike and Constantinople retained their continuous urban presence during the medieval period, the revival applies not to these two cities but to numerous other centers along the Adriatic coastline and in the Balkan hinterland, clearly spurred by the rise of commerce in the region. Examples included Trogir, Split, and Hvar in Croatia; Kotor (Cattaro) in Montenegro; Shumen in Bulgaria; and Redina, Geraki, and Mystra in Greece. Commenting on another important category of buildings, fortifications, Ćurčić concludes, "fortifications of one kind or another constituted about two-thirds of all building in the Balkans between 1300 and 1500." During times of insecurity spawned by wars and destruction, this building category included great variety, for "no entity—a town, a village, a palace, a mining establishment, a monastery, a house—could be considered safe unless placed behind solid walls." Ćurčić continues "the great emphasis given fortification architecture … reflects certain dark realities of the period in question."

Analyzing further all the relevant secular architectural categories included in the exhibition, Ćurčić concludes, "Confronting the problems of secular medieval architecture in the Balkans … illustrates not only major lacunae in our knowledge, but also distortions in our own perceptions. Architecture, in this case—as in the past—is merely a convenient vehicle for gauging larger issues. Looking at it, not as mute walls, but as documents recording the past, makes us far more sensitive to the environment we live in, but also to the forces which have shaped it, and to the cultures we belong to. Doing justice to this task requires professional responsibility, and professional training. New research tools offer new possibilities, but their effectiveness will only be proportional to the skills of those who use them."

Ćurčić further contributes to the study of regional architectural developments in the Balkans in the book chapter dedicated to church architecture in Bulgaria from the fourth to the nineteenth centuries ["Function and Form. Church Architecture in Bulgaria, 4th–19th Centuries," in *Treasures of Christian Art in Bulgaria*, ed. V. Pace (Sofia, 2001), 46–66]. At the outset Ćurčić asserts that important architectural developments from Late Antiquity through the medieval period and beyond remain substantially unknown in the scholarship outside Bulgaria. Commenting briefly on the historical and political circumstances that produced this situation, Ćurčić concentrates on physical evidence of architectural heritage that may provide new insights into the history of ecclesiastical architecture in the region. Through precise and meticulous analysis of ecclesiastical architecture through the centuries, he discusses not only Byzantine influences, but also regional developments that resulted in idiosyncrasies often recognized as local style.

A serious reconsideration of the terms "provincial" versus "regional" in architectural developments in Cyprus is yet one more among Ćurčić's inspiring, witty, and challenging studies in the field of Byzantine architecture [*Middle Byzantine Architecture on Cyprus: Provincial or Regional?* (Nicosia, 2000)]. In challenging the word "provincial" (attributed to Cypriot architectural developments in earlier scholarship), understood as the relationship of "inferiority" juxtaposed with the "superiority" of the center (Constantinople), Ćurčić shows us the distinctive regional architectural characteristics of Cyprus in the Middle Byzantine period. Although the church architecture of Cyprus shares many characteristics with contemporary developments in other parts of the Byzantine world (small scale, typological variety, and painted façades—unfortunately most of them have lost their colorful surfaces), it is important to recognize many idiosyncratic features, some of them due to local climatic factors and frequent earthquakes, which clearly designate regional and not provincial style.

Recognizing the Balkan cultural heritage and its proper integration into the European context, as both authors stated in the preface to the exhibition catalogue of "Secular Medieval Architecture in the Balkans," is an issue that has significantly influenced Ćurčić's most recent undertakings. The unfortunate recent history of the Balkans and the turbulence that has affected all Balkan peoples to a greater or lesser degree resulted in the unprecedented destruction of architectural monuments in some regions. As an internationally acclaimed scholar of Byzantine and medieval architecture in the Balkans, Ćurčić was included in the expert team of a UNESCO Mission to Kosovo (2003) and he is a member of a UNESCO International Committee of Experts on Cultural Heritage in Kosovo (2005–). Confronted, as an eyewitness, by the great destruction of cultural monuments, he reacted as a scholar but as a humanist as well, publishing several related articles, including an extensive

study ("Heritage," in *Kosovo. Christian Orthodox Heritage and Contemporary Catastrophe*, ed. A. Lidov (Moscow, 2007), 17–160).

As a professor of Byzantine art and architecture, Ćurčić has lectured on a variety of topics from Early Christian to Late Byzantine and beyond, including some aspects of architectural history in general. His lectures are scholarly, inspiring, and witty, and are warmly received by their audiences. He has also organized a great number of seminars for his students on a variety of topics related to Early Christian and Byzantine art and architecture. They included Byzantine palaces, Byzantine monasteries, liturgical and functional aspects of Byzantine ecclesiastical architecture, chapels and their function, Byzantine fortifications, the meaning and function of the tower in Byzantium, and the Byzantine house. Often present at these seminars, sometimes in the audience, other times as a speaker, I was always impressed by the way he involved his students in fruitful discussions, sharpening their judgments and opening new horizons of knowledge. He also organized fieldwork for his students, bringing them to Byzantine and medieval sites as members of the archaeological and survey teams. One of these expeditions in the 1990s included work on our joint project, "The Corpus of Late Medieval Ecclesiastical Architecture of Serbia 1355–1459." Students from both Princeton and Belgrade universities were engaged in the architectural survey of medieval churches and had extraordinary opportunities to experience both the originality of the monuments and the rigor of site work.

Ćurčić has supervised many doctoral dissertations both at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign and at Princeton University. Many of his students have followed their professor in pursuing academic careers as scholars of Byzantine art and architecture. The best testimony to his successful professorship one may find in this volume with the fine scholarly contributions of his students.

Slobodan Ćurčić's recent exhibition dedicated to Byzantine ecclesiastical architecture, organized in collaboration with Evangelia Hadjitryphonos, was entitled "Architecture as Icon." It opened in Thessaloniki in the fall of 2009 and then traveled to Princeton in 2010.

During many years of fruitful scholarship Slobodan Ćurčić worked consistently on a major study dedicated to the architectural history of the Balkans. This colossal undertaking has resulted in a massive book, just published, entitled *Architecture in the Balkans from Diocletian to Süleyman the Magnificent (ca. 300 – ca. 1550)* (London and New Haven, 2010). This is not only the first book of its kind; it is also a jewel in the crown of a successful career.

I salute a remarkable professor, an extraordinary scholar, and a dear friend.

Introduction: Approaches to Byzantine Architecture and the Contribution of Slobodan Ćurčić

Mark J. Johnson, Robert Ousterhout, and Amy Papalexandrou

In this volume, 14 students of Slobodan Ćurčić present chapters on Byzantine architecture, representing the wide variety of topics and approaches inspired by his teaching and mentoring over the past four decades.[1] Taken together, the chapters provide a useful overview of the methodologies currently employed in the study of Byzantine architecture, as well as revealing the broad range and rich repertory of monuments. In this introduction, we attempt to situate the contributions of Ćurčić and his students more broadly within the scholarship on Byantine architecture of the last half century.

While much has changed since Professor Ćurčić began his own investigations, what may be most apparent from a perusal of the present volume is the relative newness of Byzantine architecture as a subject of scholarly enquiry. Few Byzantine buildings have received basic documentation, let alone thorough examination. The monographic examination of a building may now seem quaint and recherché for other periods of architecture, but for Byzantium it remains an absolute necessity.[2] In areas of rapid development, demographic changes, and conflict, the buildings often disappear before they can be properly studied. Of the Anatolian churches Gertrude Bell visited in the early twentieth century, for example, fewer than half still stand, and those are considerably worse for wear.[3] Some of the most significant buildings, such as the church of the Nativity in Bethlehem, San Vitale in Ravenna, Hosios Loukas and Daphne in Greece, HH. Sergios and Bakchos, and even Hagia Sophia in Istanbul await detailed, authoritative studies to this day.

Many of the most important monuments have preserved no written documentation at all, and thus basic questions of chronology remain to be sorted out. Such is the case with several of the churches of Thessalonike, where it is unclear whether we accept revised (if perhaps controversial) dating provided by dendrochronology or the traditional dating from inscriptions

and mosaic decoration. Is H. Sophia seventh-century or later?[4] Was the Holy Apostles built during the patriarchate of Niphon or afterwards?[5] The rock-cut churches of Cappadocia are similarly problematic: for the main monuments of the Göreme region, French and American scholars prefer dates in the tenth and eleventh centuries, while German and Turkish scholars prefer the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[6] The dramatic changes between Byzantine and Seljuk control of the region after 1071 make the issues surrounding context all the more important. Similar questions of chronology now challenge our notion of the Byzantine investment in the Pelopponese, as well as the interaction of Byzantines and Latins in the thirteenth century.[7] The church of the Dormition at Merbaka, a linchpin in A. H. S. Megaw's relative chronology, has now convincingly been redated from the twelfth to the late thirteenth century. In a like manner, Buchwald's relative chronology of the Laskarid monuments of western Asia Minor is called into question by a late twelfth-century-dated inscription found at the Panagia Krina, a building which he placed firmly under Laskarid patronage.[8] Because of dramatic political changes, a fixed date is crucial if we are to understand the context under which a building came into being.

Byzantine architecture is also a field fraught with challenges: to paraphrase one recent critic, Byzantine architecture is "an elusive concept built upon evidence that would be thrown out in any court of law."[9] The Byzantine Empire lasted for more than a millennium, and if we take into consideration areas under its influence, such as Russia, the Caucasus, and the Balkans, even longer. Its geographic scope is similarly broad, now spanning modern nation-states not always friendly with each other and not always easy of access to foreign scholars. Both the historical languages and those of modern scholarship are rich and varied, and there seem to be more than any single human being could possibly master in a lifetime. The student of Byzantine architecture is thus challenged to be intrepid as a diplomat, an explorer, an archaeologist, and a linguist, not to mention a scholar with a discerning eye.

Methodologies

The approach of Professor Ćurčić, which he continued from his mentor Richard Krautheimer, begins with formal analysis—the basic typology and taxonomy of buildings. This approach occasionally has been criticized for its shortcomings. As Cyril Mango writes, "buildings are labeled and pigeon-holed like biological specimens according to formal criteria: where a resemblance is found a connection is assumed even across a wide gulf in time and space."[10] Indeed, an emphasis on this approach may assume that typological analysis is the desired end-result rather than the necessary beginning of a study, or that typology is the primary criterion to determine dating. Nevertheless, if the

monuments consitute our primary evidence and the basis for our conclusions concerning the field of study in general, we are obliged to learn all we can about them, including their physical structure, closely observed. In the absence of texts, the forms become all the more important. Mango concedes, "Buildings provide the most tangible and concrete legacy of a past civilization. They are historical 'documents,' no less so than written documents; in some cases they even speak with a clearer voice than the written word."[11]

Thus, a good formal analysis tells us what we have to work with. It is essential to know such basics as what to expect in terms of regional production and period styles, and how to distinguish original construction from later repairs. A traditional typological analysis emphasizes similarities, but it can be just as useful in isolating and clarifying differences, whether regional, chronological, functional, or economic. A focused study of a single building type across a broad geographical framework, properly considered, such as W. Eugene Kleinbauer's study of the aisled tetraconch, Charalambos Bouras's examination of the domed-octagon church type, or Professor Ćurčić's analysis of subsidiary chapels, can tell us much about architectural practices and cultural relations.[12] Similarities in type also become useful in the study of buildings serving similar functions, such as baptisteries or mausolea.[13]

Even more important, the close examination—that is, on the ground and in situ—of individual buildings continues to sustain and inform all subsequent analyses. Reading the archaeological record remains a basic and indispensable tool, whether of excavated remains, published reports, or standing walls. In this regard the positivist approach, while not in vogue according to current academic trends, cannot yet be relinquished by the Byzantine architectural historian. An accurate architectural history cannot be written without buildings, and the architectural historian should be able to "read" a building with the same nuance and sophistication a philologist would apply to a text. Other approaches to Byzantine architecture are of course possible and desirable, as the current volume attests, but a close examination of the physical remains ideally underlies and augments other methodologies. Indeed, familiarity with the building lends authority to all other approaches.

Other methodologies have characterized studies of Byzantine architecture: symbolic or ideological, functional, and social or economic.[14] A symbolic or ideological interpetation is often based on texts that tell us how to interpret architectural forms, as in Procopios's description of Hagia Sophia or Patriarch Germanos's *Historia Mystogogica*.[15] Thus, for example, Martin Harrison's excavations of the church of H. Polyeuktos in Istanbul turned up fragments of the dedicatory inscription. Known in complete form from the Palatine anthology, the inscription claimed that Juliana "surpassed the wisdom of the celebrated Solomon, raising a temple to receive God." Harrison was able to suggest the symbolic association of the church with Solomon's Temple

based not simply on the inscription, but on the building's dimensions and architectural decoration, which he had examined closely.[16]

But symbolism need not rely on a text. The repetiton of symbolic forms, as for example appear in baptisteries or mausolea, may also be understood in this context.[17] Although style is rarely discussed in Byzantine texts, the dissemination of architectural style may have ideological or symbolic implications, as Professor Ćurčić discusses in relation to Serbian architecture, and Robert Ousterhout discusses in relation to early Ottoman architecture.[18]

In addition to aiding in our understanding of symbolism, written sources have other information to offer. Texts describing lost buildings, such as the church of the Holy Apostles or the Nea Ekklesia or the Pharos church in Constantinople, tell us much about how the Byzantines perceived the church interior.[19] While chronicles and saints' lives have long been mined for information about Byzantine buildings and their decoration, other written sources, such as typika and foundation documents can provide aditional insights. As Mark J. Johnson explores in his chapter, issues of chronology, context, and patrons' motives lie hidden within written sources that have been overlooked or underutilized. Similarly, archival research yields new information from forgotten fieldnotes and photographs, as Robert Ousterhout demonstrates in this volume.

A functional or liturgical approach must rely on a variety of data beyond the physical structure of the building, ranging from archaeological assemblages to liturgical texts. Thomas Mathews's seminal study of liturgical planning would not have been possible without careful observations on building typology, combined with the physical evidence of internal partitions and furnishings.[20] The relationship between form and function is not nearly as strong as earlier generations, steeped in the modernist tradition, would have it. While in very general terms, the change from longitudinal buildings to centrally-planned buildings parallels a change in the liturgy, as Mathews has proposed, it may be impossible to say whether the change in architectural forms responded to a functional change, or vice versa. While some accommodation is made for liturgical use in all periods, we might argue that the liturgy played only a small role in the creation of new architectural forms, for many new architectural designs cannot be easily explained in functional terms. The aisled tetraconch church, for example, as at S. Lorenzo in Milan or at Selucia Pieria by Antioch, created a complex layering of interrelated spaces that has much more to do with the aesthetics of geometry than with the liturgy. Indeed, it remains unclear where within these buildings the altar was placed.[21] Similarly, the symmetrical tripartite sanctuary of later churches makes sense in architectural terms, even though the diakonikon was often unnecessary liturgically and given a separate function.[22]

Moving beyond typology and liturgy, a functional approach can lead to a deeper appreciation of context. This may require a close examination of the

larger setting of the building, as well as the details of its decoration. While our best-preserved buildings are usually churches, they may be more particularly defined as parish churches, cathedrals, monastic katholika, private family chapels, or funerary chapels. The specific function of a building may add nuance to the reading of its pictorial decoration. The details of a Cappadocian church, for example, may read differently against a backdrop of monastic or domestic usage.[23] Examining function, architecture, and pictorial decoration together, as Ida Sinković does in her chapter, can reveal much about the contemporary view and use of a particular building.

Interest in funerary architecture has been of particular importance in this respect, as it has encouraged detailed analyses of buildings within specific functional contexts, which, in turn, have encouraged investigation of the central role of commemorative monuments within Late Antique and Byzantine society. Recent studies have emphasized a structure's place within a surrounding urban or monastic framework or invited speculation about the sensory and ritual events that have taken place within or around them, as we see in the chapters by Amy Papalexandrou and Katherine Marsengill. There are also problems of interpretation of the physical remains, since the evidence may be ambiguous. As Stephen Hill once asked regarding the Alahan Manastırı, when is a monastery not a monastery?[24] While its contemporary name suggests that was once a monastery, the isolated Cilician complex may more likely have been a pilgrimage center. Similarly, are the rock-cut complexes of Cappadocia monastic or secular? Their modern names often suggest monastic function, although a careful analysis of the physical remains does not.[25]

Functional considerations also intersect formal considerations in the study of specific building components, as signalled by Professor Ćurčić's response to Gordana Babić's study of subsidiary chapels.[26] While Babić concentrated on the textual information and the decorative programs in order to determine the specific commemorative functions of auxiliary chapels, Ćurčić situated the same within purely architectonic considerations. Historic builders clearly responded to a variety of requirements imposed by their patrons, but ultimately they had to translate these into architectural terms. The orderliness and concern for basic compositional principles highlighted by Professor Ćurčić indicates that formal aspects of design remain a constant, at least in public architecture. More recent studies of lateral aisles and ambulatories follow in the same line.[27]

Secular Architecture

One of the exciting directions in the field has been the development of a greater interest in secular architecture, a direction Professor Ćurčić championed in

his graduate seminars, publications, and in a number of dissertations he has supervised. The catalogue of secular architecture in the late medieval Balkans, which Professor Ćurčić edited in collaboration with Evangelia Hadjitriphonos in 1997, divided the material into urban entities, town fortifications, fortresses, citadels/forts, towers, palaces/houses, public buildings, public baths, and water supply.[28] The state of research varies for these topics. Defensive architecture in all its aspects has long been explored, but the subject requires a new overview that highlights the Byzantine contribution, as Professor Ćurčić emphasized in his Princeton seminar on fortifications.[29] One of his first graduate seminars at the University of Illinois concerned towers, an interest that continues with some of his most recent publications[30] and in the work of his students. These seminars, indeed, led to several chapters in the present volume.

For Byzantine domestic architecture, Charalambos Bouras remains one of the few scholars to attempt a synthetic overview, but our base of knowledge has increased dramatically since the publication of his important articles.[31] Ousterhout and Ćurčić have both contributed to this area in exhibition catalogue essays,[32] and the Byzantine house was the subject of Professor Ćurčić's 2004 seminar at Princeton. Ongoing excavations and surveys have resulted in significant new evidence, which continues to appear at Corinth, in the Athenian Agora, at Amorion, in Cappadocia, and elsewhere.[33] Publications of the Byzantine settlements at Pergamon, Çanlı Kilise, Cyprus, and elsewhere have added to the discussion, as have the burgeoning body of literature on urbanism after Antiquity.[34] Studies of domestic architecture have emphasized the intersection of public and private, religious and secular in the domestic sphere.[35]

New investigations of urban infrastructures are also significant. Studies of the water systems of Thessalonike and Constantinople have yielded important information. The detailed examination of the history and extent of Constantinople's water system in conjunction with the Anastasian Wall and the cisterns within the city underlines the strategic significance of water to the Byzantine capital in its early centuries. Indeed, it constitutes an exciting new chapter in the history of the city.[36] Similarly, the water system of Thessalonike seems to have played a critical role during the conquest of the city by the Ottomans, while the discovery and mapping of watermills helps us understand the role of industry and agriculture within the late Byzantine city and its hinterland.[37]

While these investigations have dramatically expanded our knowledge of daily life and military technology, there is a concomitant danger of Byzantine architecture becoming a subset of archaeology or of social history. To utilize the Vitruvian terminology, *utilitas* becomes our main concern, with *firmitas* a distant second, and *venustas* not at all. While recognizing the contribution of archaeology, Professor Ćurčić has countered this development with an emphasis on the aesthetics of Byzantine architecture.[38] In this instance, he has

succeeded in making the old new, by insisting on the validity of an approach that had fallen out of favor. At the same time, these new areas of investigation have considerably broadened the field of study, and they allow a discourse on architecture that addresses all levels of society.

Structure and Construction

Structural engineers have also looked to Byzantine monuments, as new methods of analysis have become available. Their investigations have been limited primarily to large-scale buildings, such as Hagia Sophia in Constantinople, for which the structural performance of the building through its history is documented, while its structural system was flawed from the inception.[39] New methods of computer-aided structural modelling suggest new avenues of analysis, but they are not without their critics. Roland Mainstone, for example, argues for the value of common sense and the well-trained eye.[40] Few small Byzantine buildings have been subjected to structural analysis, but in these the emphasis was more on construction than structure.[41] Another new direction is to examine Byzantine architecture from the point of view of its builders, asking the sorts of questions that an *oikodomos* might ask, as Ousterhout has done.[42] The next step to be taken in this regard is in the direction of logistics or ergonomics, in calculating and quantifying the manpower and materials required for a given project.[43]

Cultural Interchange

While recent events have shifted interests toward the Islamic world, the critical diplomatic role played by the Byzantine Empire during the Middle Ages is often overlooked.[44] Historically Byzantium held the strategic position as the negotiator between East and West, and the political encounters are reflected in Byzantine cultural production. Within Constantinople itself, there is literary testimony for the construction of Islamic-style palaces and pavilions, as well as surviving examples of Western-introduced architectural forms, ranging from flying buttresses to stained glass. At the same time, an examination of building at the margins of the Byzantine world can be as instructive as a similar study at its center. From early in his career, Professor Ćurčić has probed the interactions between Byzantine builders and their counterparts from other regions. In his dissertation and subsequent book on the church of the Dormition at Gračanica and in a series of articles, Professor Ćurčić examined the interactions of differing building traditions in medieval Serbia against the backdrop of political affiliations of the day.[45] He later applied a

similar analysis to the intersections of Byzantine, Norman, and North African architectural traditions in the architecture of Sicily.[46]

Other Approaches

Other directions include historiographical studies, as in the essays by Christina Maranci and Matthew Milliner in this volume, which examine the history of the discipline alongside its early progenitors and their various methodologies. This approach has encouraged introspection and created a critical awareness of our own scholarly tendencies and theoretical foundations. Professor Ćurčić has long been interested in historiography, having given a graduate seminar on the topic in 1998 that was followed by a colloquium at Princeton on "The Balkans: Medieval Architecture and Historiography." Historiography has also served to bring architectural historians into fruitful dialogue with other disciplines in the humanities, whose relationship with the topic is often longer and more developed. The result has afforded a better understanding of where our own scholarly roots fit into a larger picture of the nineteenth- and twentieth-century intellectual milieu.[47]

Other approaches tend to be contextual in nature, emphasizing, for example, the minutiae of a building or site as critical elements for exposing the function or meaning of a particular architectural space. The inclusion of re-used antiquities, or *spolia*, provides one example of a constructional or sometimes decorative element that can hold interpretive possibilities for the architectural historian and contribute to a more nuanced understanding of a building's history or the motive forces of a patron, as Dale Kinney has discussed and as Ludovico Geymonat contributes in this volume.[48]

Monumental inscriptions and reconsideration of their appearance and placement on buildings have revealed additional layers of meaning aside from their presumed documentary role.[49] Contextual approaches may also implicate the greater surroundings, as for example topographical studies in which authors seek to understand a building through its place in the landscape or its relationship to other structures nearby. Hugh Elton's study of the Göksu region is Cilicia, for example, has attempted to place buildings into a broad context, as does Nikolas Bakirtzis's chapter in this volume.[50] The ultimate scholarly objective is to recreate the social history of buildings, especially the interaction of non-elite builders or users—as opposed to the emperors and aristocrats who have typically been our only point of access into the culture—with their architectural environment.

Afterlife and Preservation

While many studies focus on the moment of conception or initial construction, one recent trend in site studies is to appropach architecture diachronically, looking at a building as the sum of its history. For example, the church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem only makes sense architecturally when its three medieval phases are carefully analyzed.[51] Gülru Necipoğlu's important examination of Hagia Sophia as a mosque brings to the fore an afterlife unknown to most Byzantinists, noting the necessity of creating an Ottoman context and an Islamic prehistory for the building.[52]

All too often later histories, with conflicting claims of ownership and identity, are issued a tacit *damnatio memoriae*, as for example occurred with the Ottoman interventions in the Byzantine churches of Thessalonike. With the exception of the minaret of the Rotunda, physical evidence of later histories has been almost completely excised from this city, while the churches were restored to their Byzantine period appearance. Byzantine churches that continue to function as mosques in Muslim countries remain difficult to study properly in their historical context.

Nationalist concerns often play a role: while the Parthenon in Athens was built as a temple, it functioned considerably longer as a church and a mosque, but evidence of the later religious uses were swept away in the nationalist fervor of the nineteenth century.[53] Manoles Korres's careful detective work on the Acropolis, for example, brings back to light an important period in that building's history.[54] Similarly, the privileging of the Classical at archaeological sites often means that evidence from the Byzantine period is removed, often without full analysis.[55] In other instances, as for example the excavated thirteenth-century settlement at Pergamon, the Byzantine period survives only on paper.[56]

Studies of later interventions can help to clarify original forms and details, but they also chronicle later appreciation and historical interpretation of a building. In this vein, the chapter by Nicola Camerlenghi in this volume investigates the later construction history of S. Paolo fuori le mura in Rome.

We have noted the relative youthfulness of the field, and that basic documentation and analysis for many Byzantine buildings is lacking even as questions remain about more well known monuments. Much work awaits the interested scholar. As this work continues with the present and future generations of scholars, it is worth recalling one of Professor Ćurčić's dicta: "There is no such thing as a definitive study." His pronouncement is not intended as a condemnation of existing scholarship, but rather an invitation to not be satisfied with past approaches and conclusions. Its intent is to encourage further research, analysis, and approaches that will continue to enrich our understanding of a fascinating field of architectural history.

Notes

1 Ćurčić is pronounced "church-itch." As students we used to joke that in order to study Byzantine architecture, you needed a church-itch.

2 M. Trachtenberg, "Some Observations on Recent Architectural History," *ArtB* 70 (1988): 215–17, for comments on the single-building monograph.

3 W. R. Ramsay and G. Bell, *The Thousand and One Churches* (London, 1909; new edition with foreword by R. Ousterhout and M. Jackson, Philadelphia, PA, 2008), especially chs. 2–3.

4 C. Mango, *Byzantine Architecture* (New York, 1976), 165, dates the building ca. 783; Krautheimer, *ECBA*, 295, "prior to 726"; K. Theocharidou, *The Architecture of Hagia Sophia, Thessaloniki, from its Erection up to the Turkish Conquest*, BAR International Series 399 (Oxford, 1988), offers a more complex chronology, with the major construction phases ca. 600 and after 618; R. Cormack, *The Byzantine Eye: Studies in Art and Patronage* (London, 1989), Additional Notes, 7–10, holds out for a later dating.

5 S. Ćurčić, *Gracanica: King Milutin's Church and Its Place in Late Byzantine Architecture* (University Park, PA, 1979), esp. 73, n. 15; P. I. Kuniholm and C. L. Striker, "Dendrochronology and the Architectural History of the Church of the Holy Apostles in Thessaloniki," *Architectura* 2 (1990): 1–26.

6 C. Mango, "Approaches to Byzantine Architecture," *Muqarnas* 8 (1991): 40–44, on 40; H. Wiemer-Enis, *Spätbyzantinische Wandmalerei in den Höhlenkirchen Kappadokiens in der Türkei* (Petersberg, 2000); and most importantly, N. Thierry, "De la datation des églises de Cappadoce," *BZ* 88 (1995): 427–31.

7 M. L. Coulson, "The Church of Merbaka: Cultural Diversity and Integration in the 13th-Century Peloponnese," Ph.D. dissertation: Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London, 2002; A. H. S. Megaw, "The Chronology of some Middle-Byzantine Churches," *BSA* 32 (1931/1932): 90–130; note also C. Bouras, "The Impact of Frankish Architecture on Thirteenth-Century Byzantine Architecture," in *The Crusades from the Perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim World*, ed. A. Laiou and R. Mottahedeh (Washington, D.C., 2001), 247–62.

8 H. Buchwald, "Lascarid Architecture," *JÖB* 28 (1979): 261–96; Ch. Pennas, "Some Aristocratic Founders: the Foundation of Panagia Krena on Chios," in *Women and Byzantine Monasticism*, ed. J. Y. Perreault (Athens, 1991), 61–6.

9 S. Melikian, "'Byzantium Art': A Fit-all Category Defeated by its Elusiveness," *International Herald Tribune* (24–25 January 2009), 11.

10 Mango, "Approaches," 41.

11 Mango, *Byzantine Architecture*, 10.

12 W. E. Kleinbauer, "The Origins and Functions of the Aisled Tetraconch Churches in Syria and Northern Mesopotamia," *DOP* 27 (1973): 89–114; Ch. Bouras, "Twelfth and Thirteenth-Century Variations of the Single Domed Octagon Plan," *DChAE* 9 (1977–1979): 21–34, S. Ćurčić, "Architectural Significance of Subsidiary Chapels in Middle Byzantine Churches," *JSAH* 36 (1977): 94–110.

13 A. Khatchatrian, *Les baptistères paléochrétiens* (Paris 1962); M. Johnson, *The Roman Imperial Mausoleum in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge and New York, 2009).

14 Mango, "Approaches," 40–44; idem, *Byzantine Architecture*, 9–11.

15 For texts, see C. Mango, *Art of the Byzantine Empire 312–1453: Sources and Documents* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ, 1972), 72–8, 141–3.

16 M. Harrison, *Excavations at the Saraçhane in Istanbul*, I (Princeton, NJ, 1986), esp. 410–11; idem, *A Temple for Byzantium* (Austin, TX, 1989); idem, "The Church of St. Polyeuktos in Istanbul and the Temple of Solomon," *Okeanos: Essays Presented to Ihor Sevcenko on His Sixtieth Birthday by His Colleagues and Students*, ed. C. Mango, O. Pritsak, and U. M. Pasicznyk (Cambridge, MA, 1984), 276–9. For the limitations of this approach, see R. Ousterhout, "New Temples and New Solomons: The Rhetoric of Byzantine Architecture," *The Old Testament in Byzantium*, ed. P. Magdalino and R. Nelson (Washington, D.C., 2010), 223–54.

17 R. Krautheimer, "Introduction to an 'Iconography of Medieval Architecture,'" *JWCI* 5 (1942): 1–33; reprinted in his *Studies in Early Christian, Medieval, and Renaissance Art* (New York, 1969), 115–50; J. B. Ward-Perkins, "Imperial Mausolea and Their Possible Influence on Early Christian Central-Plan Buildings," *JSAH* 25 (1966): 297–9.

18 Ćurčić, *Gračanica*, among numerous other studies; R. Ousterhout, "Ethnic Identity and Cultural Appropriation in Early Ottoman Architecture," *Muqarnas* 13 (1995), 48–62.

19 See among others R. Webb, "The Aesthetics of Sacred Space: Narrative, Metaphor, and Motion in *Ekphraseis* of Church Buildings," *DOP* 53 (1999): 59–74; R. Ousterhout, *Master Builders of Byzantium* (Princeton, NJ, 1999; paperback edition Philadelphia, PA, 2008), 39–89 *passim*.

20 T. F. Mathews *The Early Churches of Constantinople: Architecture and Liturgy* (University Park, PA, 1971).

21 Kleinbauer, "Origin and Functions," 89–114.

22 See Ph. Karagianne and S. Mamaloukos, "Paratereseis ste Diamorphose tou Diakonikou kata te Mese kai Ystere Vyzantine Periodo," *DChAE* 30 (2009): 95–102, with earlier bibliography and some unusual examples.

23 L. Rodley, *Cave Monasteries of Byzantine Cappadocia* (Cambridge, 1985); R. Ousterhout, *A Byzantine Settlement in Cappadocia* (Washington, D.C., 2005).

24 S. Hill, "When is a Monastery not a Monastery?" in *The Theotokos Evergetes and Eleventh-Century Monasticism*, ed. M. Mullett and A. Kirby (Belfast, 1994), 137–45.

25 R. Ousterhout, "Questioning the Architectural Evidence: Cappadocian Monasticism," in *Work and Worship at the Theotokos Evergetis*, ed. M. Mullett and A. Kirby (Belfast, 1997), 420–31; T. Matthews and A. C. Daskalakis-Matthews, "Islamic–Style Mansions in Byzantine Cappadocia and the Development of the Inverted T-Plan," *JSAH* 56 (1997): 294–315; V. Kalas, "Early Explorations of Cappadocia and the Monastic Myth," *BMGS* 28 (2004): 101–19.

26 G. Babić, *Les Chapelles annexes des églises byzantines. Fonction liturgique et programmes iconographiques* (Paris, 1969); S. Ćurčić, "Review of *Les Chapelles annexes des églises byzantines. Fonction liturgique et programmes iconographiques*, by Gordana Babić," *ArtB* 55 (1973): 448–51; idem, "The Architectural Significance of Subsidiary Chapels in Middle Byzantine Church Architecture," *JSAH* 36 (1977): 94–110.

27 E. Hadjitriphonos, *The Peristoon in Late Byzantine Ecclesiastic Architecture* (Thessalonike, 2004); L. Theis, *Flankenräume im mittelbyzantinischen Kirchenbau. Zur Befundsicherung, Rekonstruktion und Bedeutung einer verschwundenen architektonischen Form in Konstantinopel* (Wiesbaden, 2005).

28 S. Ćurčić and E. Hadjitriphonos, eds, *Secular Medieval Architecture in the Balkans 1300–1500 and Its Preservation* (Thessalonike, 1997), esp. 14–15.

29 The only book on the subject thus far, C. Foss and D. Winfield, *Byzantine Fortifications: An Introduction* (Pretoria, 1986) is inadequate; see R. Ousterhout, "Review of *Byzantine Fortifications: An Introduction* by C. Foss and D. Winfield," *JSAH* 48 (1989): 182–3.

30 S. Ćurčić, "Alexander's Tomb: A Column or a Tower? A Fourteenth-Century Case of Verbal Confusion and Visual Interpretation," in *To Ellenikion. Studies in Honor of Speros Vryonis, Jr*. (New York, 1993), 2: 25–48; idem, "Some Reflections on the Flying Buttresses of Hagia Sophia in Istanbul," in *Metin Ahunbay'a Armağan: Bizans Mimarisi Üzerine Yazılar* (Istanbul, 2004), 7–22, esp. 8–9.

31 Ch. Bouras, "Houses and Settlements in Byzantine Greece," in *Shelter in Greece*, ed. P. Oliver and O. V. Doumanes (Athens, 1974), 30–52; idem, "City and Village: Urban Design and Architecture," *CEB* 16 = *JÖB* 31/2 (1981): 611–53.

32 R. Ousterhout, "Byzantine Secular Architecture 843–1261," *The Glory of Byzantium. Art and Culture of the Middle Byzantine Era, 843–1261*, ed. H. Evans and W. Wixom (New York, 1997), 192–200; S. Ćurčić, "The House in the Byzantine World," *Everyday Life in Byzantium*, ed. D. Papanikola-Bakirtzi (Athens, 2002), 228–38.

33 J. McK. Camp II, "Excavations at the Athenian Agora 2002–2007," *Hesperia* 76 (2007), 627–63; C. K. Williams II, "Frankish Corinth: An Overview," *Corinth 20: Corinth, The Centenary: 1896–1996* (Athens, 2003), 423–34; C. and M. Lightfoot, *A Byzantine City in Anatolia: Amorium, an Archaeological Guide* (Istanbul, 2007); E. A. Ivison, "Amorium in the Byzantine Dark Ages (Seventh to Ninth Centuries)," in *Post-Roman Towns, Trade and Settlement in Europe and Byzantium, Vol. 2: Byzantium, Pliska, and the Balkans*, ed. J. Henning (Berlin, 2007), 25–6. See also H. Saradi, *The Byzantine City in the Sixth Century: Literary Images and Historical Reality* (Athens, 2006), with extensive bibliography.

34 Saradi, *Byzantine City*; K. Rheidt, *Die Stadtgrabung, 2: Die byzantinische Wohnstadt*, Altertümer von Pergamon 15/2 (Berlin, 1991); Ousterhout, *Byzantine Settlement*; M. Rautman, *A Cypriot Village of Late Antiquity: Kalavasos-Kopetra in the Vasilikos Valley*, JRA Suppl. 52 (Portsmouth, 2003).

35 See above, notes 32–3, as well as the important study by K. Bowes, *Private Worship, Public Values, and Religious Change in Late Antiquity* (New York and Cambridge, 2008).

36 J. Crow, J. Bardill, and R. Bayliss, *The Water Supply of Byzantine Constantinople* (London, 2008).

37 See Ch. Bakirtzis, "The Urban Continuity and Size of Late Byzantine Thessalonike," *DOP* 57 (2003): 35–64, esp. 39 and nn. 25–6; also Ch. Siaxabani, "Water Mills. Area of Thessaloniki, Greece," in Ćurčić and Hadjitriphonos, *Secular Medieval Architecture*, 338–41.

38 See some preliminary remarks in S. Ćurčić, *Middle Byzantine Architecture on Cyprus: Provincial or Regional?* (Nicosia, 2000).

39 R. Mark and A. Çakmak, eds, *Hagia Sophia from the Age of Justinian to the Present* (Cambridge, 1992).

40 R. Mainstone, "Questioning Hagia Sophia," in Mark and Çakmak, *Hagia Sophia*, 158–76.

41 An exception is E. E. Toumbakari, "Structural Analysis of the Church of Aghia Triada, Astros, Peloponnesos, Greece," *Studies in Ancient Structures. Proceedings of the International Conference* (Istanbul, 1997), 507–16.

42 Ousterhout, *Master Builders*; note also H. Buchwald, "Job Site Organization in 13th-Century Byzantine Buildings," in *L'edilizia prima della rivoluzione industriale secc. XIII–XVIII* (Prato, 2004), 625–67.

43 J. DeLaine, *Baths of Caracalla : a study in the design, construction, and economics of large-scale building projects in imperial Rome*, JRA Supplement 25 (Portsmouth, 1997), established a useful model; see more recently J. Haldon, ed., *General Issues in the Study of Medieval Logistics: Sources, Problems, and Methodologies* (Leiden, 2006).

44 See D. F. Ruggles and R. Ousterhout, eds, *Encounters with Islam: The Medieval Mediterranean Experience*, thematic issue of *Gesta* 43/2 (2004).

45 Ćurčić, *Gracaniča*; idem, "Serbia, II. Architecture, 2. 1169–1459, " *The Dictionary of Art* (London, 1996), 28: 439–43; idem, "Architecture in the Byzantine Sphere of Influence around the Middle of the Fourteenth Century," in *Dečani et l'art Byzantine au milieu du XIV^e siècle* (Belgrade, 1989), 55–68.

46 S. Ćurčić, "The Architecture," in E. Kitzinger, *The Mosaics of St. Mary of the Admiral of Palermo* (Washington, D.C., 1990), 27–67; idem, "Some Palatine Aspects of the Cappella Palatina in Palermo," *DOP* 41 (1987): 145–65.

47 Note for example C. Maranci, *Medieval Armenian Architecture: Constructions of Race and Nation* (Louvain, 2001); also K. Kourelis, "Byzantium and the Avant-Garde," *Hesperia* 76/2 (2007): 391–442.

48 D. Kinney, "Rape or Restitution of the Past? Interpreting Spolia," *The Art of Interpreting*, ed. S. C. Scott (University Park, PA, 1995), 52–67; eadem, "The Concept of Spolia," in *A Companion to Medieval Art: Romanesque and Gothic in Northern Europe*, ed. C. Rudolph (Oxford, 2006), 233–52; note also the essay by A. Papalexandrou, "Memory Tattered and Torn: Spolia in the Heartland of Byzantine Hellenism," in *Archaeologies of Memory*, ed. S. Alcock and R. van Dyke (Blackwell, 2003), 56–80.

49 A. Papalexandrou, "Echoes of Orality in the Monumental Inscriptions of Byzantium," *Art and Text in Byzantium*, ed. L. James (Ashgate, 2007), 161–87.

50 H. Elton, "Göksu Archaeological Project 2005," *Anatolian Archaeology* 11 (2005): 16–18; idem, "Göksu Archaeological Project 2006," *Anatolian Archaeology* 12 (2006): 19–21.

51 See R. Ousterhout, "Architecture as Relic and the Construction of Sanctity: The Stones of the Holy Sepulchre," *JSAH* 62 (2003): 4–23.

52 G. Necipoğlu, "The Life of an Imperial Monument: Hagia Sophia after Byzantium," in Mark and Çakmak, *Hagia Sophia*, 195–225.

53 For summary see R. Ousterhout, "'Bestride the Very Peak of Heaven': The Parthenon in the Byzantine and Ottoman Periods," *The Parthenon from Antiquity to the Present*, ed. J. Neils (Cambridge, 2005), 292–325; and more recently A. Kaldellis, *The Christian Parthenon: Classicism and Pilgrimage in Byzantine Athens* (New York and Cambridge, 2009).

54 M. Korres, "The Parthenon from Antiquity to the 19th Century," in *The Parthenon and Its Impact in Modern Times*, ed. P. Tournikiotis (Athens, 1996), 136–61.

55 For a useful example of reconstruction based on archaeological reports see S. Ćurčić, "A Lost Byzantine Monastery at Palatitzia-Vergina," *Mnemeio kai perivallon / Monument and Environment* 8 (2004): 13–30.

56 Rheidt, *Die Stadtgrabung*.

PART I
The Meanings of Architecture

1

Polis/Arsinoë in Late Antiquity: A Cypriot Town and its Sacred Sites

Amy Papalexandrou

The site of modern Polis (ancient Marion/Arsinoë), situated in northwest Cyprus on the Khrysochou Bay, is endowed with archaeological remains attesting to nearly continuous human activity in this region of the island from the Archaic period through the Middle Ages. The material from Polis has been under investigation by a team from Princeton University since 1983, with ongoing research and analysis continuing to the present day.[1] The site has proven particularly rich in Late Antique remains, including two Early Christian basilicas discovered near the modern town, the first of which was excavated during the 1980s while Slobodan Ćurčić served as the team's resident authority on all matters Byzantine. It was his initial reading of the Late Antique material at Polis that sparked my own interest in the site, and accordingly this chapter owes much to his guidance and scholarship.[2]

In the years since Ćurčić's participation on the project, a second church has been discovered at an approximate distance of 200 m from the church he helped to excavate. The proximity of the two buildings, along with their similarities and differences—of form, function, and surrounding context—have become points of interest and invite comparative analysis as a means to better understand not only their respective histories but also the nature of the small urban settlement within which they existed and operated. I offer this brief chapter to Danny in gratitude, in admiration, and in the spirit of inquiry he has helped to foster for the allied fields of archaeology, architectural history, and Byzantine studies.

The Late Antique Town

Polis, or Arsinoë as it was known in Late Antiquity, is attested in the historical and epigraphic record as a bishopric from as early as the fifth century CE.[3] Aside from its appearance in a single inscription and a few early lists, however, it is seldom mentioned and does not appear in the sources again until much later, following the reorganization of the island under Latin domination.[4] The modern tendency is to consider the region—and hence the town—as isolated and provincial. This is based on its current reputation as a sleepy tourist village as well as its remote location, some 35 km north of Paphos near the rugged Akamas peninsula (Figure 1.1). In Late Antiquity, however, as in earlier centuries, it must have been a thriving, if not bustling community. The copper mines at Limni (5 km to the northeast, now defunct) played a considerable role in its economy, and the town's position on a low bluff overlooking the Khrysochou Bay ensured easy access to the sea. Of the latter, a small, as yet uninvestigated, harbor 4 km to the west, at the modern-day fishing village of Latsi, offered maritime communication with the island's nearby cities as well as the ports of the Mediterranean basin beyond.[5]

Figure 1.1 Map of Cyprus showing locations of Polis and other sites mentioned in the text (drawing: Brandon E. Johnson).

The town's importance is further attested by the excavated remains of shops and/or workshops, wells, water channels and drains, a small network of streets, a modest tetrapylon, and, not least, the existence of multiple churches that served a burgeoning Christian population. Arsinoë must have had at least three and perhaps more ecclesiastical structures, two of which are known from the Princeton excavations and one that was hurriedly investigated by Rupert Gunnis in 1927 near the center of the modern town.[6] The metropolitan church of the aforementioned inscription has not been located, although it is conceivable that it was the building explored by Gunnis. The site of the metropolitan church is often said to be the open field behind the present-day excavation house, this due to the periodic discovery there of sculptural fragments and at least one very large 'Theodosian' capital. Traces of what may indeed be an apse wall were pointed out by our foreman in 2008, but no firm evidence supports the notion of a basilica in this location. The small size of the excavated basilicas likely precludes their possible designation as cathedral.

This abundance of ecclesiastical buildings should come as no surprise since it is common to find multiple churches in close proximity within late antique urban centers, even small ones. A body of cultic buildings at Polis/Arsinoë is therefore not exceptional, but at the same time the presence of a number of churches further underscores the importance of the site within a hinterland context at the northwestern margins of the island. Hence, our conceptual image of Late Antique Cyprus should be rethought, with Arsinoë finding its rightful place on the map as an active player in the island's network of coastal cities. This is especially important in view of the seventh-century Arab incursions and the subsequent, profound transformations of settlement and society that these events are traditionally thought to have engendered.

Basilica A and its Cemetery

The first major building discovered at Polis (designated here as "Basilica A") was a modest, three-aisled basilica (23 m x 12.5 m) situated just north of the modern town center and directly adjacent to the main road that descends to the sea. Its poor state of preservation has left no walls visible above the level of the plaster floors. In form and decoration it is typical of the myriad churches built during the massive building boom that took place across the Mediterranean Basin, Cyprus included, during the late fifth and early sixth centuries CE.[7] It has been dated only approximately to the years around 500 on the basis of fragmentary finds and the historical circumstance of the island's religious autonomy after 488.[8] Preceded by a narthex to the west, its three aisles were divided by two colonnades that terminated in three semi-circular apses at the

east, the central one externally polygonal (Figure 1.2). The whole was covered by a wooden trussed roof and its interior space outfitted with mosaics and imported marble decoration, many fragments of which survive.

Almost nothing remains of the robbed-out north aisle, but the situation to the south is clear: a portico running the entire length of the building was added to the south aisle soon after the church's initial construction. This space was originally open and articulated with large piers along its south façade, though these openings were subsequently filled in. A square chamber was also added to the south wall of the narthex at the same time the portico was constructed. The narthex did not communicate with an atrium to the west (a situation not unknown in Cyprus), but the south portico opened onto a walled courtyard south of the church.

Basilica A underwent a series of subsequent renovations, all of which involved the addition of piers and accumulation of wall buttresses intended to support masonry vaulting overhead, either as barrel vaults or a dome or both. This will not concern us here other than to suggest that these alterations may have occurred soon after construction, with subsequent renovations into the eighth or ninth century.[9] This conclusion, a revision of Professor Ćurčić's earlier dating, is based on the lack of ceramic evidence within the church that would support a later date. Small-scale production and domestic settlement dated to the eleventh and twelfth centuries is apparent in the surrounding structures to the north and south, but within the church itself only a small area at the west end of the south aisle revealed evidence of later occupation, apparently due to squatters. The complete absence of late Byzantine pottery here is interesting and suggests that the population shifted elsewhere at this time—perhaps south toward the modern town center and certainly north to the area of Basilica B. The transformation to vaulting likely followed a general trend on the island, the dating of which remains controversial.[10] I turn instead to the contextual surroundings and their eventual funerary function in order to consider the building's role within the Late Antique environment as a whole.

Basilica A was positioned within an area of the city that was traditionally a nucleus of activity, whether industrial, commercial, or both. A kiln had been firing terracotta lamps (under study by Dr. Christopher Moss of Princeton) immediately east of the south apse in the early second century CE, and Roman buildings south of the open courtyard seem to have operated as glass and bronze workshops at this same time. Additional structures, possibly shops, lined a major thoroughfare—complete with covered storm drain and water conduits—running E–W through the southern edge of the excavated area. Two additional streets have been discovered running east and west of the basilica. The church, then, was part of the surrounding urban environment which survived and, for a time at least, continued to function well into the Late Antique period (Figure 1.2).

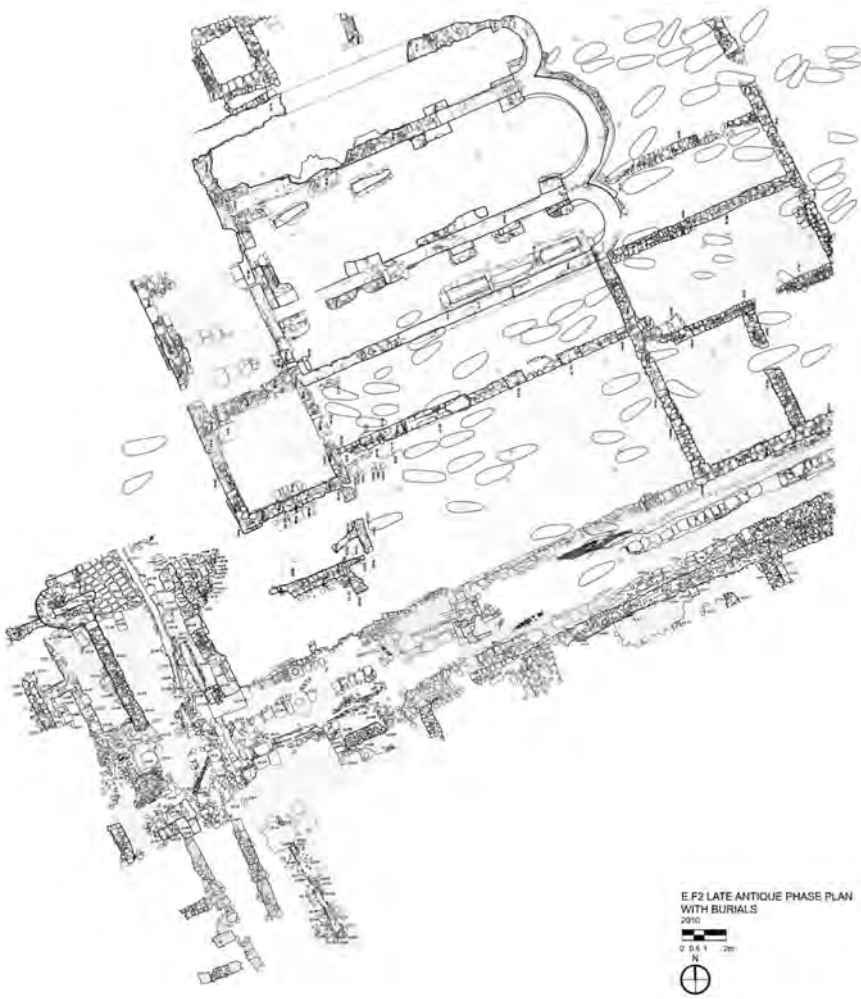


Figure 1.2 Polis, Basilica A and surroundings, site-plan (drawing: Krista Ziemba, Princeton Cyprus Expedition Archive).

An impressive apsidal well-house to the southwest likely dates to this time as does a series of long cobble walls east of the church. The latter belonged to ancillary structures—of unusual, elongated shape and unclear function—that abutted the apses (Figure 1.3). The possibility exists that these may have been storehouses of some type, a suggestion made more interesting by the physical connection of these variously functioning buildings to the church itself. In any case, Basilica A should clearly be viewed as an urban building, one that was superimposed within an area traditionally given over to the production

and perhaps retail of various types of small-scale goods. The extent to which this artisanal activity was carried into the Late Antique buildings south of the basilica will be clarified through study, currently undertaken by Dr. Maria Parani of the University of Cyprus.[11]

The sacred boundaries of the ancient city were no longer at issue in the years following the basilica's construction, a fact made clear by the inclusion soon afterward of burials within the building. A series of three masonry tombs lining the south aisle are the most prominent of these and certainly housed eminent members of the community, whether clerics or lay patrons. These tombs were initially considered later intrusions (Middle Byzantine or later), but their contents suggest a date not long after the building's construction. The central of the three tombs contained a coin dated to the fifth or sixth century (Burial 17: Polis inv. no. R396/NM276), and ceramic evidence is Late Antique. The interment of individuals near the sanctuary is in line with contemporary practice and can be seen in other churches on the island, such as the church at Maroni-Petrera and Campanopetra at Salamis.[12]

Less well-appointed graves were sunk into the plaster floors of the central aisle, narthex, and especially the south porch. The bulk of interments, however, were found around the periphery of the church, where the surrounding buildings and infrastructure of urban life gradually fell into decay and gave way to a large burial ground (Figure 1.2). This is significant, for up to now there have been few self-contained community cemeteries recorded for Cyprus in Late Antiquity.[13] It may be that the dearth of archaeological data for churches on the island has been due to the traditional emphasis placed on

Figure 1.3 Polis, Basilica A, ancillary structure with later burials east of church, from east (photo: Princeton Cyprus Expedition Archive).

excavating architecture rather than surrounding contexts. Basilica A proves the existence of such cemeteries as a means of communal burial on Cyprus, at least in small urban areas such as Arsinoë. The possibility should not be excluded that the south porch, if not also the open courtyard to the south, were intended to serve in this capacity from the beginning.

The Arsinoë cemetery displays no regularity in the spacing of graves, and it remains a question whether or not individual burials were marked by *memoriae* above ground. Continuity of practice was strong, however, with all individuals extended and oriented in the same way, with head to the west and arms crossed at the chest or pelvis. Infant and child burials were concentrated east of the church and were found in the highest excavated levels. Unlike the presumably privileged burials in the south aisle, the 170-plus graves excavated by the Princeton team around the basilica were all modest, subsurface pits with few or no lining stones and only occasional use of cover slabs (Figure 1.3).

In general the pits received only primary burials except in a few instances where they were either purposely reopened or accidentally cut into, the original bones being rearranged to make room for new occupants. The frequent presence of iron nails shows that wood coffins were used, presumably for those who could afford them. Grave goods were sparse and humble. Of all excavated tombs in this area only a few illegible coins, several earrings, three finger rings, and a beaded necklace were discovered for the entire cemetery along with a series of 15 small pectoral crosses fashioned of ivory, steatite, and picrolite (Figure 1.4). The crosses are intriguing, as their similarities suggest a common source of production and an apparently local fashion in Arsinoë for these objects of adornment—or perhaps they were pilgrimage tokens acquired in Syria or Palestine.[14] They probably were worn by both men and women.

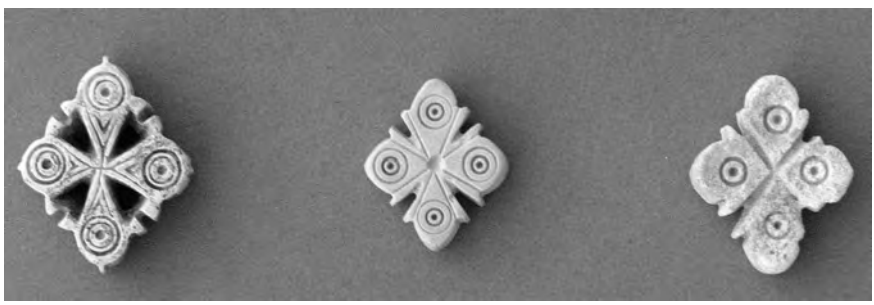


Figure 1.4 Polis, pendent crosses from Basilica A (photo: Princeton Cyprus Expedition Archive).

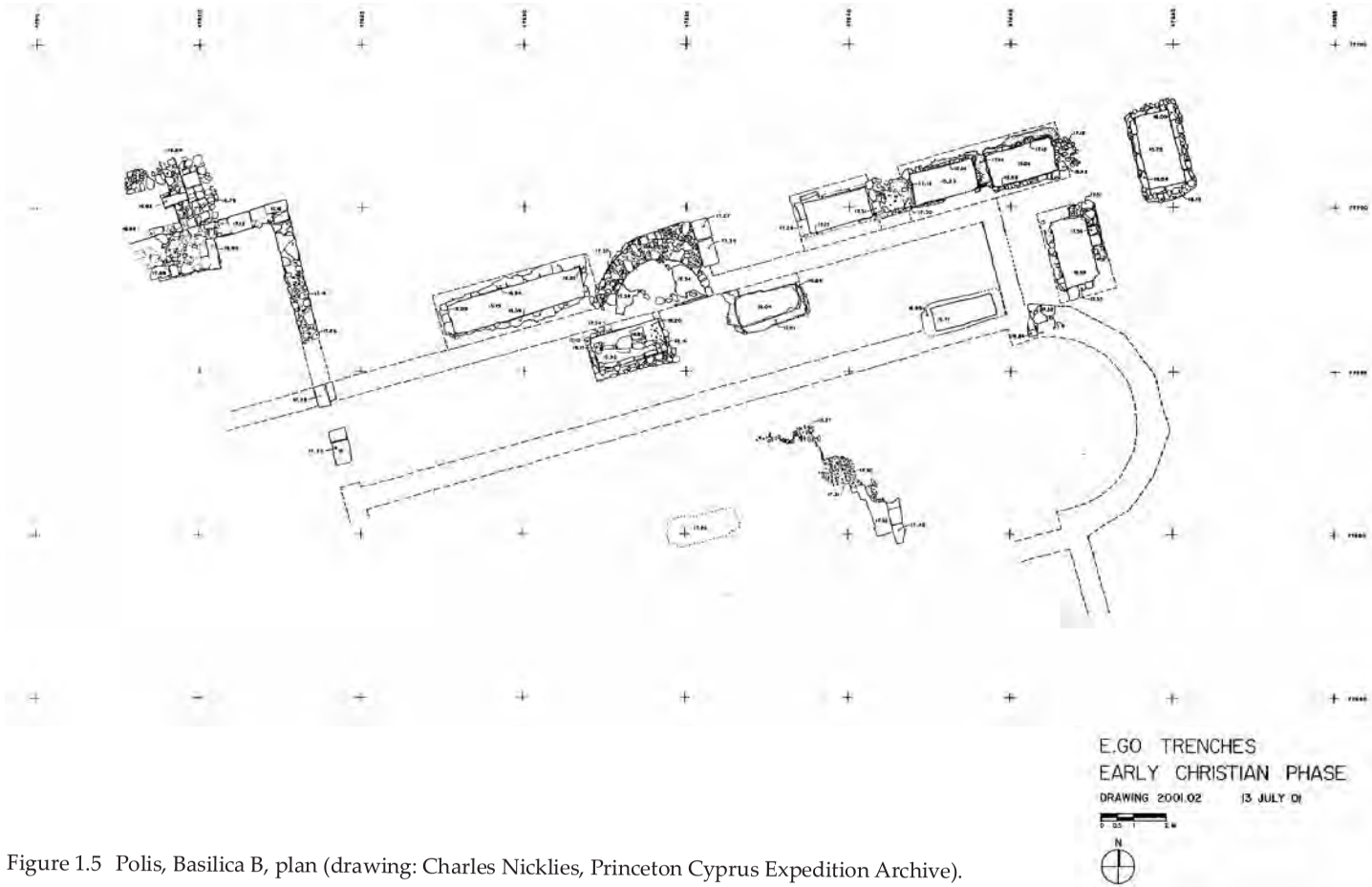


Figure 1.5 Polis, Basilica B, plan (drawing: Charles Nicklies, Princeton Cyprus Expedition Archive).

The general picture gleaned from the material and anthropological evidence suggests a community of hard-working individuals who ate reasonably well, were not exposed to widespread violence, and left behind little expression of worldly wealth.[15] Sigillographic evidence indicates use of the cemetery until at least the eighth century or later, at which time its southward expansion was facilitated by the disintegration of the former urban area—its waterlines and workshops now defunct and ravaged by the sinking of burial trenches.[16]

Basilica A and its surroundings offer crucial evidence for the burial of hundreds of individuals in a group cemetery near what had been a busy corner of Late Antique Arsinoë. The location of the church encourages us to think further about interrelationships between ecclesiastical foundations and urban centers of production and/or commerce: is it possible that the proximity of the two led to mutual benefit, and perhaps that an association might have existed between them?[17] Or is it necessary to continue thinking—for Arsinoë as elsewhere—in terms of a financial rivalry between Church and city as the normal situation in the sixth and seventh centuries?[18] Does the existence of burials, initially on a small scale in the fifth or sixth centuries, necessarily preclude the simultaneous functioning of a vibrant urban core? The answers to these questions will naturally depend on future analysis of the area and its associated finds.

Basilica B as a Funerary Church

Basilica B lies just 200 m to the northeast of Basilica A and was excavated by the Princeton team intermittently from 1996 to 2006.[19] This site is closer to the sea, in a commanding location above a ridge, and presumably near the ancient city walls.[20] The remains of a large Roman building of the second century CE occupy much of the north sector of the excavation site, although the foundations of a large, square building here indicate the presence of a fortification or watch tower dating to the Late Antique period.[21] The general impression of the area gives the sense of the urban edge. The southern third of the site was later given over to the construction of Basilica B, of which less than half the building has been exposed (Figure 1.5). It is important to remember that many years of illicit digging, sometimes with a bulldozer, resulted in major disturbance to sealed contexts, stratigraphy, and building foundations throughout the area. This has made excavation and interpretation often difficult. We lack secure information, for example, regarding the internal divisions of the church: It seems safe to assume, although we have no evidence for, the presence of nave colonnades, this due to the survival of many column fragments, late antique bases, and capitals (Figure 1.6).

Figure 1.6 Polis, capital from the area of Basilica B (photo: Princeton Cyprus Expedition Archive).

The general layout is clear: Basilica B was similarly three-aisled but somewhat larger (roughly 30 m x 14.5 m) than Basilica A. The central aisle terminated in a polygonal apse at the east, while the side aisles initially had flat east-wall terminations. A narthex preceded the building to the west, and a series of ancillary rooms to the north included, interestingly, an installation for the production of olive oil (visible in Figure 1.5).

We must rely primarily on stylistic comparanda to determine that the two basilicas are roughly contemporary: fragments of surviving floor mosaics in Basilica B have clear parallels with churches in the vicinity dating to the fifth century, as in Paphos and at nearby Peyia.[22] The frequent presence of Roman red wares at the site also contributes to this chronological assessment, but contamination of levels makes firm conclusions difficult: a typical level will yield Byzantine glazed wares, Black Gloss and Cypriot White Painted together with the late Roman wares. Nevertheless, we can assume construction to have been somewhat earlier than its neighbor to the south. Like Basilica A, it was also decorated with an array of imported architectural marbles including columns, capitals, floors of *opus sectile* and champlevé panels, all of which survive only in fragments. The two buildings also shared the feature of windows articulated with locally produced transennae panels. In the case of Basilica B (and perhaps also Basilica A), the limestone for these panels was conveniently quarried from the Roman building immediately to the north,

Figure 1.7 Polis, Basilica B, aerial view from west (photo: Princeton Cyprus Expedition Archive).

Figure 1.8 Polis, Basilica B, buckle (photo: Princeton Cyprus Expedition Archive).

Figure 1.9 Polis, Basilica B, lamp (photo: Princeton Cyprus Expedition Archive).

probably derived from its fine Ionic portico. The similarities between the two buildings come to an end, however, when we move beyond the basic outlines and decorative embellishment of their structures.

Basilica B was intended from the outset, or soon thereafter, to function as a funerary church. Burials were integrated into the original building, as is clear from a series of large ossuary pits lining the external walls to the north and east (Figure 1.7). These are interrupted by a semi-circular apse positioned at the midpoint of the north wall, an unusual but not unknown feature in the Late Antique ecclesiastical architecture of the island. The pits turned the corner at the east end of the building, where they acquired a north-south orientation. These well-constructed, subsurface pits eventually came to be enclosed by a retaining wall to the north. They vary in length, but those on the north side are typically 1 m wide and up to 3 m in depth. Construction technique varied: sometimes the walls were built of large ashlars—*spolia* perhaps removed from the Roman building to the north—at other times they consisted of mortared rubble. All were solid, roomy and deep, extending down to bedrock. An interesting feature shared by the pits was a pair of vertically aligned niches in the long walls. These at first appeared to be putlog holes, but their arrangement does not support a structural function. Findings in the westernmost pit showed that they were intended to hold terracotta lamps. Two deep pits were also built within the church, in the north aisle immediately adjacent to the exterior wall. Clearly the number and arrangement of pits indicate their crucial role in the layout and function of the building.

Excavation of the pits in 2000 produced a wealth of information, all of it pointing to their use as ossuaries. The pits generally received only secondary burials, that is, skeletal remains that had been interred elsewhere and were subsequently exhumed and transferred to this location. The possibility that the pits contained primary burials might also be considered, but this would imply extremely violent conditions in death, with bodies completely dismembered and their remains jumbled before burial. It would also imply that those responsible for this atrocity were not interested in the worldly goods of the deceased, which in fact remained with the bodies.

Of special interest was the long, westernmost pit which contained the disarticulated bones of at least 30 individuals—adults as well as children. Grave goods discovered here were numerous and seem to be associated directly with the skeletal material. These included coins, mostly of the so-called 'Vandalic' type of the fourth/fifth century, rings and earrings, some of gold, and a number of belt buckles (Figure 1.8). Excavators noted the frequent existence of charcoal fragments and lime together with an oily consistency of the soil—all characteristics that indicate ritual practices surrounding the burial, or reburial, of these human remains. The pit contained several of the aforementioned terracotta lamps, three of which were intact and showed burning around the nozzles (Figure 1.9). It is significant that these were found

within or just next to the wall niches. The lamps are datable to the mid-seventh century and belong to a type consistently found in the remaining ossuary pits.[23] The burned nozzles indicate that funerary rituals were practiced, no matter what the circumstances of burial. It is significant that the ossuary contents appeared to represent a single deposit rather than the gradual addition of bones at various stages.

The contents of the remaining exterior pits were remarkably similar, with masses of unarticulated human, and sometimes also animal bone accompanied by used but often intact ceramic lamps. Belt buckles, most datable to the seventh century, appeared in several of the pits. There is, then, a strong measure of continuity between independent depositions. In one pit a coin (studied by Christopher Moss of Princeton University) dated to the reign of Heraclius (610–641) or perhaps as late as Constans II (641–668) was found near bedrock (Polis inv. no. R30579/NM1551), giving a *terminus post quem* of the early- to mid-seventh century for that deposit.

In line with this seventh-century date I mention two individual burials discovered at Basilica B outside the context of the ossuary pits. These were located just north and east of the main apse, near the easternmost pit in an area largely destroyed by bulldozing. These individual graves contained articulated skeletons buried with weaponry. Several bronze javelins or pikes and an iron spear point with part of its shaft were found next to the bodies, together with a number of lead objects of unknown function but perhaps having some apotropaic function. An associated coin (Polis inv. no. R31092/NM1595) has been tentatively dated to the reign of Heraclius or Constans II, i.e., to the early- or mid-seventh century.

It is not difficult to imagine how such weaponry might be interpreted in the light of well-known historical events as they unfolded in Cyprus at this period. The temptation is to view this array of mortuary groupings, and perhaps also the mass burials from the ossuary pits, as a reflection of the Arab invasions that devastated the coastal region of the island after 648/649 CE.[24] The location of the basilica near the sea, presumably at the edge of town and in the shadow of a watch tower, suggests the possibility that Basilica B functioned as a garrison church, with mass burials accommodated as necessary during times of conflict and invasion. Such a hypothesis would account for the discovery here of belt buckles, which were often part of the dress of civic officials and soldiers.[25]

On the other hand, the existence of ossuary pits attached to Basilica B may have to do with the tragic effects of the Justinianic (Bubonic) plague that afflicted the empire, Cyprus included, several times throughout the sixth and seventh centuries. Equally devastating were the effects of earthquake, which has recently been re-examined as a cause of frequent destruction and abandonment of sites.[26]

It is difficult, however to justify the condition of the interred remains with this suggestion, as some degree of articulation among the skeletal material would still be expected. Perhaps more reasonable is the idea of accommodating skeletal material removed from a pre-existing cemetery, the inhabitants of which required immediate transfer to a new site. Such a hypothetical burial ground might have been associated with an earlier church that was either destroyed or enlarged, its surrounding space subsumed by the new building with its ancillary structures.[27] While there is as yet no archaeological evidence to confirm this hypothesis, it makes sense in terms of the disarticulated remains in the ossuary pits.

A modern comparison serves to illustrate this possible scenario: when the new cemetery was laid out in modern-day Polis in the 1980s, the former burial ground was systematically emptied and the skeletal remains of its inhabitants ritually transferred to the new cemetery site across the modern road. Oral testimony focuses on how the bones of family members were carefully gathered, bundled in pillowcases and deposited into newly dug graves or family plots.[28] A similar set of actions and circumstances in Late Antiquity, perhaps accompanied by ritual activities involving oil and burning lamps, may help to explain the nature of the deposits in the Basilica B ossuaries.

The Arsinoë Basilicas: Contextual Considerations

Concerning the coexistence of these two sites at Arsinoë, a brief comparison has both immediate and broad implications for our understanding of burial and urbanism in Late Antiquity. In terms of mortuary archaeology, excavations at Basilica A have shown that standard, self-contained cemeteries did indeed exist on the island and that, contrary to prior speculation, the dead were not necessarily interred in older, re-used tombs as they were at other nearby sites.[29] Like Paphos and Peyia, Arsinoë was also home to many ancient tombs built into the ridges of the surrounding landscape.[30] Here, however, they do not appear to have been exploited by the Late Antique inhabitants, either because they were unknown or because their location was inconvenient. Perhaps a communal cemetery was possible from the fifth century CE at Arsinoë because of the nature of provincial urban settlements on the island, where land may have been more plentiful and development less tightly controlled than in the larger cities. Along these lines, restrictions governing the sacred boundary (*pomerium*) of the ancient city may have loosened, with burials penetrating the urban environment here at an earlier date than elsewhere. The large, open area south of Basilica A had been enhanced, perhaps for this purpose, by filling the sloping ground here with a layer of soil and rock (0.80 m in depth) which covered the Roman Imperial levels below.[31]

If we are to believe early sources, some of the famed ancient cities of Cyprus had become more like villages (κώμες) in Late Antiquity, even as they maintained their own episcopal sees.[32] It may be that Arsinoë was just such a place, where a marginalized location and the isolation this implies allowed greater latitude for expansion and integration into the local environment.

Basilica B, on the other hand, gives us a completely different example of mass burials, or reburials, that are integrated directly into the architecture of the building through the construction of ossuary pits. This is unusual but not unknown on Cyprus: a similar situation has been detected for the church of Hagios Tychon at Amathus, on the south coast of the island.[33] In that instance the excavator's findings led to the suggestion of a strong presence of the Byzantine army at the site.[34] While this remains possible for Polis, in our case natural disaster and/or the emptying of a pre-existing cemetery could also account for the ossuary accretions to the building. In any case, it is interesting to consider the chronological coincidence of these two variations in burial practices in churches located just a short distance from one another.

I also wish to emphasize the discrepant types of grave goods found at the two basilicas. Among the more distinctive and diagnostic objects, the small crosses from Basilica A stand in marked contrast to the array of belt buckles from Basilica B. As possible signifiers of privilege, accomplishment, or gender, such objects lead to speculation regarding the burial places of specific individuals. Does the general absence of buckles at Basilica A imply a social demographic—a division according to status within this provincial settlement that was observed in death, if not also in life? Did its cemetery accommodate Arsinoë's poorer inhabitants? Or was burial mostly a matter of convenience, with ritual practices and inhumation occurring as close as possible to home or the place of death? What is the meaning of the high concentration of oil lamps in the mass burials of Basilica B? They are almost entirely absent in the community cemetery of Basilica A, so that one wonders if purification was at issue in some places or times more than others.

What do the various mortuary arrangements tell us about communal relationships, to others and to family, and perhaps even to the land? The cemetery, with its relative paucity of multiple and secondary burials, suggests that many tombs here were known or marked, their occupants still holding a place within the collective memory of Late Antique Arsinoë. In a few cases this is supported by evidence for grave markers. Two burials excavated in 1988 at the upper-most levels were marked by standing stones. In one case the stone was engraved with a single cross; the second was unadorned. Tombs that were opened for the insertion of additional burials indicate that their locations were remembered by those who tended to them.

This situation is radically different from the ossuaries of Basilica B, where anonymity accompanied what appears to us today as an ad hoc disarray of human remains. Indeed, mass burials can have strong symbolic implications

that must take into account the transformation of memory, in this case away from the individual toward what others have called a "community of ancestors."[35] Such issues must be taken into account along with the documentary minutiae surrounding burials and their finds within datable contexts. Only then can we begin to advance our all-too-sketchy knowledge of funerary rituals, burial and, by extension, the daily lives of individuals in the Eastern Mediterranean at the end of Antiquity. The existence of two simultaneous—and divergent—approaches to burial within a single community make the excavations at Polis/Arsinoë a particularly intriguing case study for the history of both urbanism and mortuary practices in the Late Antique world.

Acknowledgment

The Princeton Archaeological Expedition to Cyprus has been excavating at Polis since 1984 under the direction of William A. P. Childs, to whom I am grateful for permission to publish the materials included here. I also wish to thank the Department of Antiquities of Cyprus for their ongoing support of the Polis project and Alexandros Koupparis, our foreman, for help in all matters on the ground.

Notes

1 On the excavation generally see William A. P. Childs, "First Preliminary Report on the Excavations at Polis Chrysochous by Princeton University," *RDAC* (1988), 121–3. I initially presented this material at the 30th Annual Byzantine Studies Conference in Baltimore, MD, in 2004.

2 S. Ćurčić, "An Early Byzantine Basilica at Polis, Cyprus," *17th International Byzantine Studies Congress, 1986. Abstracts of Short Papers* (Washington, D.C., 1986), 87–8; idem, "Byzantine Architecture in Cyprus: An Introduction to the Problem of the Genesis of a Regional Style," in *Medieval Cyprus. Studies in Art, Architecture, and History in Memory of Doula Mouriki*, ed. N. Ševčenko and K. Moss (Princeton, NJ, 1999), 71–91, especially 74–5 on the first Polis basilica; Childs, "First Preliminary Report," 127–8 includes a brief report by Ćurčić on the architectural phases of the building.

3 Childs, "First Preliminary Report," 128–9.

4 The inscription documenting Arsinoë as a bishopric was found in Polis in 1960 and published by I. Nicolaou in *Berytus* 14 (1961–1963): 136–9, no.7, where she assigned a *terminus ante quem* of 451 CE. She later republished the epigraph, however, and assigned it to the "early fifth century." See I. Nicolaou, *Cypriot Inscribed Stones* (Nicosia, 1971), 35, insc.gr. 229. The inscription reads: "In the 36th year when Sabinus was Archbishop, when Photinos was Bishop [this was

erected] at their own [expense]." For the early lists mentioning the site of Arsinoë see G. F. Hill, *A History of Cyprus* (Cambridge, 1940), 1: 262–3 and 269. Also J. Hackett, *A History of the Orthodox Church in Cyprus* (London 1940), 318–19.

5 On the Limni Mines see P. Raber, "Early Copper Production in the Polis Region, Western Cyprus," *Journal of Field Archaeology* 14 (1987): 297–312. For Latsi, little or no archaeological exploration has occurred, though the presence of a massive, ancient breakwater supports its role as a protected harbor; see J. R. Leonard, "Roman Cyprus: Harbors, Hinterlands, and 'Hidden Powers,'" Ph.D. dissertation, The State University of New York at Buffalo, 2005, 624ff. The north shores of Cyprus are typically windy and not ideal for sailing, but communication with ports such as those at Soli to the east and Cape Drepanon (Peyia) to the west, both with impressive Late Antique settlements, must have been an easy journey and provided an initial link to points beyond. On local sea lanes in Cyprus see Leonard, "Roman Cyprus," 346.

6 Cyprus Museum, File ER p. 16/15, dated June 1927, *Poli tes Khrysokhous*, "400 yards north of the police station, on land which belonged to the Muktar." Gunnis gives a very brief account, including a list of discoveries that point to the Early Christian period. These include bronze buckles, 'Byzantine' coins, marble and glass mosaic (green, blue, and gold), tombs, painted plaster, and the remains of a large apse.

7 A. Papageorghiou, "L'Architecture paleochrétienne de Chypre," *CorsiRav* 32 (1985): 299–324.

8 Childs, "First Preliminary Report," as per Ćurčić, 128; Ćurčić, "Byzantine Architecture," 75.

9 For initial attempts to date the basilica see Ćurčić, "Byzantine Architecture," 75ff.

10 C. A. Stewart, "The First Vaulted Churches in Cyprus," *JSAH* 69/2 (2010): 162–89.

11 Maria Parani provided preliminary discussion of this material in a paper "Evidence for Artisanal Production in Late Antique Cyprus," International Workshop on the Insular System of the Early Byzantine Mediterranean: Archaeology and History, Nicosia, 24–26 October 2007.

12 For Maroni-Petrera see S. Manning et al., *The Late Roman Church at Maroni Petrera* (Nicosia, 2002), 36–8. For the basilica of Campanopetra at Salamis, where a series of tombs serving as ossuaries were added to the south aisle soon after the building was constructed, see G. Roux, *Salamine de Chypre XV, La Basilique de la Campanopétra* (Paris, 1998), 152–7, figs. 213–23.

13 See Ch. Bakirtzis, "Early Christian Rock-Cut Tombs at Hagios Georgios, Peyia, Cyprus," in *Medieval Cyprus. Studies in Art, Architecture, and History in Memory of Doula Mouriki*, ed. N. Ševčenko and K. Moss (Princeton, NJ, 1999), 35–48, who discusses the re-use of older, rock-cut tombs in Cyprus in this period, a practice which may have been common. Bakirtzis raises the question of where the Early Christian population of Cyprus was buried. On the general movement of burials into the cities, which did not become commonplace until at least the fifth century CE, see E. Ivison, "Burial and Urbanism at Late Antique and Early Byzantine Corinth (c. AD 400–700)," in *Towns in Transition*, ed. N. Christie and S. T. Loseby (Farnham, 1996), 99–125.

14 Similar crosses said to be from Syria or Palestine have been assigned to the '5th to 7th centuries' elsewhere: see *Rom und Byzanz. Archäologische Kostbarkeiten aus Bayern*, ed. L. Wamser and G. Zahlhaas (Munich, 1998), 199–200, no. 287.

15 Stacey Buck, "Life on the Edge of the Empire. Demography and Health in Byzantine Cyprus," MA thesis, Arizona State University, 1993. Dr. Brenda Baker of the Arizona State University is restudying the human anthropological material from Polis. A representative example of her approach to the burials, in this case focused on a single individual and its contextualization, can be found in B. Baker, C. Terhune, and A. Papalexandrou, "Sew Long? The Osteobiography of a Woman from Medieval Polis, Cyprus," in *The Bioarchaeology of Individuals*, ed. A. Stodder and A. Palkovich (Gainesville, FL, forthcoming).

16 A seal of Damianos, archbishop of Cyprus in the eighth century CE, was found in the cemetery area east of the basilica (Polis inv no. R2526_SS5). See now the similar example from Kourion: A. Dunn, "Lead Seal of Damianos, Archbishop of Cyprus," in A. H. S. Megaw, *Kourion. Excavations in the Episcopal Precinct*, DOS, 38 (Cambridge, MA, 2007), 539, where a date before the mid-eighth century is based on historical evidence. The 10 excavated seals from Polis (six from Basilica A and environs; the remaining four from Basilica B) are under study by Dr. Olga Karagiorgou of the Research Center of the Academy of Athens.

17 Parani, "Evidence for Artisinal Production."

18 J.-M. Spieser, "The Christianization of the City in Late Antiquity," in *Urban and Religious Spaces in Late Antiquity and Early Byzantium*, Variorum Collected Studies Series (Brookfield, 2001), study III: 6–7.

19 T. Najbjerg, C. Nicklies, and A. Papalexandrou, "Princeton University Excavations at Polis/Arsinoe: Preliminary Report on the Roman and Medieval Levels," *RDAC* (2002): 129–54.

20 A section of the ancient city wall has been located near the sanctuary in area A.H9, excavated further to the east of the Basilica B site. See Childs, "First Preliminary Report," 127.

21 Childs, "First Preliminary Report," 146–7. That the square tower postdates the Roman building is guaranteed by the inclusion of large pieces of its concrete floor within the later walls.

22 Najbjerg et al., "Excavations," 150.

23 Th. Oziol, *Les lampes au Musée de la Fondation Piérides* (Larnaca, n.d.), 71, and fig. 16 for exact comparanda with lamps from Amathus and the Kornos Cave. A nearly exact parallel was found at Kourion: J. Hayes, "Clay Lamps," in Megaw, *Kourion*, 479, no. 21.

24 For evidence from the coastal city of Soloi, some 45 km to the east of Arsinoë, see T. Tinh, *Soloi. Dix campagnes de fouilles (1964–1974)* (Sainte-Foy, 1985), 1: 115–25.

25 C. Eger, "Dress Accessories of Late Antiquity in Jordan," *Levant* 35 (2003): 163–78, who connects buckles specifically with civic officials and soldiers. Association of buckles with private individuals, however, should not be ruled out, on which J. Russell, "Byzantine *Instrumenta Domestica* from Anemurium: the Significance of Context," in *City, Town and Countryside in the Early Byzantine Era*, ed. R. Hohlfelder (New York, 1982), 137–43. For the buckles from Amathus, which present a direct parallel in terms of both style and date, see E. Prokopiou, "Amathous. East Necropolis. Ossuary Tomb of the Seventh Century," *RDAC* (1995), 249–79 (in Greek).

26 On this, see Ćurčić, "Byzantine Architecture," 73ff. For the sixth-century pandemic, see L. Little, ed., *Plague at the End of Antiquity: The Pandemic of 541–750*

(Cambridge, 2006); W. Rosen, *Justinian's Flea: Plague, Empire, and the Birth of Europe* (New York, 2007).

27 I am grateful to Lioba Theis for this suggestion at the Byzantine Studies Conference in 2004.

28 Personal communication from Alexandros Koupparis, excavation foreman for the Princeton Expedition.

29 As per Bakirtzis, "Early Christian Rock-Cut Tombs," 40.

30 E. Gjerstad et al., *The Swedish Cyprus Expedition, II: Finds and Results of the Excavations in Cyprus 1927–1931* (Stockholm, 1935), 455ff.

31 On burial grounds within the ancient walls of cities see G. Dagron, "Le christianisme dans la ville byzantine," *DOP* 31 (1977): 11ff.

32 V. Von Falkenhausen, "Bishops and Monks in the Hagiography of Byzantine Cyprus," in *Medieval Cyprus. Studies in Art, Architecture, and History in Memory of Doula Mouriki*, ed. N. Ševčenko and K. Moss (Princeton, NJ, 1999), 21–33, especially 28–30.

33 P. Aupert et al., *Guide d'Amathonte* (Paris, 1996), 156–8.

34 Prokopiou, "Amathous. East Necropolis," 30.

35 C. Humphrey, *Time in the Medieval World* (Rochester, NY, 2001), 41.

2

The Syntax of *Spolia* in Byzantine Thessalonike

Ludovico V. Geymonat

The word *spolia* is a plural noun from the Latin *spolium*, meaning the hide or fleece stripped from the body of an animal. More generally, *spolia* referred to a soldier's booty or the spoils of war. Architectural historians use the term today to refer to artifacts "incorporated into a setting culturally or chronologically different from that of [their] creation."[1] According to this definition, *spolia* are pieces of architectural material, either found on the ground or purposely gathered by stripping a standing building, which are incorporated into a new monument that is being built. The use of *spolia* establishes a relationship—whether deliberately or not—with visual and architectural remains from the past. The selection of *spolia* and the specific uses to which they are put ought to tell us something about that relationship, at least as far as those responsible for the monuments being built are concerned.[2] This chapter looks at selected examples of the use—and in one case, the telling lack of use—of architectural *spolia* in Thessalonike, and it proposes that a dramatic change in the meaning of the use of *spolia* can be detected with the end of Byzantine rule over the city in the fifteenth century.

Thessalonike was founded around 316 BCE by Cassander and has been continuously inhabited ever since.[3] The question of what to do with earlier buildings on site—to use, renovate, or dismantle them—must have faced each generation of citizens throughout the city's long urban history. The presence of ancient buildings, in varying degrees of conservation and offering a plethora of architectural *spolia*, is common to a number of cities founded in Antiquity and continuously inhabited over a long stretch of time. One of the distinctive features in the case of Thessalonike, however, is its role as the second-largest city in the Byzantine Empire and the alleged continuity that the citizens of that empire felt with the Hellenistic and Roman past—a continuity that was to be drastically interrupted with the fall of the city to the Ottomans in 1430.

Figure 2.1 Thessalonike, Roman Agora. Plinths used as construction blocks, south side (photo: author).

Figure 2.2 Thessalonike, Palace of Galerius. Half column shaft used as a step in a staircase (photo: author).

At the very moment that a number of cities in Europe were reassessing their own history as ancient cities and looking to the ruins in their midst for evidence of their glorious past, in Thessalonike, the dramatic change of rule must have required a different sort of reassessment of the city's continuity with both its ancient and more recent past. One place we might seek clues about how the people of Byzantine and early Ottoman Thessalonike thought about and related to the history of their city is by looking at how they used recognizable fragments of older buildings in their own constructions. Does the evidence provided by their use of *spolia* attest to any identifiable sense on their part of continuity or rupture with the city's past?

The use of *spolia* is extensive in Thessalonike and is noticeable in a number of monuments from almost all periods of the long Byzantine history of the city.[4] The evidence ranges from the reworking and adaptation of earlier pieces of sculpture to the reuse of single architectural components such as column shafts and capitals. In the Roman Agora, for instance, two carved plinths are turned on their side and embedded in the wall bordering the road running along the south side (Figure 2.1). These plinths presumably once supported statues that were knocked down in unknown circumstances. A column shaft, cut vertically in half, is used as a step of a large staircase in the palace of Galerius (Figure 2.2). The variety of columns in the city's Middle Byzantine churches suggests that they were not originally carved for the buildings in which we now find them. These and countless other instances attest to the plentiful availability of *spolia* in the city.

Among the most extensive and telling examples are those on the city walls that surround the historic center.[5] Some of the construction materials for these walls came from earlier buildings in which they had an entirely different function. Ionic capitals are used along the base of a tower, and there are lintels and drums, and sometimes entire columns, embedded in the walls (Figures 2.3–2.4). Since these pieces are not simple bricks, and since they are not carved specifically to be used for this purpose, their insertion into the walls, and their adaptation to the new location, must have required a degree of skill. This is especially true for circular shaped elements such as columns.[6]

The most systematic use of *spolia* can be found along the base of a long stretch of the west wall from the Vardari fortress to the Letaia gate (Figure 2.5). Regular courses of rectangular marble slabs are set below the brick masonry. There can be as few as one or two courses, but along certain sections there are more than 10 superimposed courses. According to Petros Papageorgiou, who published an article on this topic in 1911, there were also similar courses of marble slabs along the eastern stretch of the fortifications, which was demolished along with the sea walls beginning in 1873.[7] Working from the marble slabs found on the western walls, Papageorgiou classified seven different types according to their shape and frame (Figure 2.6). They are blocks of local marble approximately 0.30–0.35 m high, 0.85–1.00 m wide,

Figure 2.3 Thessalonike, fortification walls. Ionic capitals and other *spolia*. On the right, Richard Krautheimer (photo: Slobodan Ćurčić, 1972).

Figure 2.4 Thessalonike, fortification walls. Column shafts (photo: author).

Figure 2.5 Thessalonike, fortification walls, western part (photo: author).

and from 0.50 to 3.00 m long. In most cases, a plain frame is carved along the longer edges of one of the narrow faces of the block. In some of the shorter slabs, the frame curves inward either in the middle or on one side of the face.

The east and west walls along the lower, flatter part of the city surrounded the main gates and are not far from the sea. They were among the most visible, and possibly vulnerable stretches of the walls, and are heavily fortified by a series of triangular bulwarks. The placement of marble slabs along these two sections may have had a defensive purpose. The blocks strengthened the base of the fortification and, where there are several superimposed courses, covered the walls with a marble shield to impressive visual effect. However, these blocks were clearly not carved with the aim of protecting the walls. Their peculiar shape is not found in other Late Antique monuments and their original function is not apparent.

Papageorgiou collected and published a series of inscriptions written in red ink on the narrow faces of these slabs. According to Papageorgiou, there are single and double Greek letters such as Φ, Χ, ΑΒ, ΓΑ, which may be masons' marks, and abbreviations and monograms of names such as ΠΑΠΟΑΡΜ and ΠΑΠΑΡΤΜ for Παπ(ι)ο(υ) ‘Αρ(τε)μ(ιδωρου); Τ ΜΑΙ and the corresponding monogram for Τ(ιτου) Μαι(ου); the Latin letters “serv” for Serv(ilii) and “rom” for Rom(ani), etc. Papageorgiou maintained that these inscriptions correspond to names of people and families like those found on the benches of ancient theaters. On this basis, he argued that they had once been the seats and

benches of the hippodrome of Thessalonike. In an article on this monument, Michael Vickers agreed with Papageorgiou and maintained that the available evidence from the hippodrome confirms this hypothesis.[8] In Vickers's opinion, the results of excavations indicated that part of the foundations of the eastern wall—now leveled but formerly showing some of these same marble slabs—lay above those of the hippodrome. It follows that the hippodrome was rearranged during the building of this stretch of the fortifications.[9]

Figure 2.6 Classification of marble slabs, masons' marks, and inscriptions [from P. N. Papageorgiou, "Workmen Marks and Names of the Marble Slabs from the Theater in Thessaloniki," *Archaiologike Ephemeris* (1911), 169].

Figure 2.7 Thessalonike, Hagia Sophia. Capital with wind-swept acanthus leaves, north aisle (photo: Mark J. Johnson).

The hippodrome has a dramatic history. In 390, Butheric, the chief of the Gothic garrison, imprisoned a popular charioteer and refused to release him before the chariot races. A riot broke out and Butheric and other officials were killed. The emperor Theodosius summoned the local population to the hippodrome, shut them in, and ordered the Gothic mercenaries to slaughter them. The building thus became the stage of the massacre of 7,000 citizens.[10]

The monument must have acquired a fearful connotation after this tragedy. It was in use again in the fifth century and possibly later, but it seems a reasonable conjecture that some kind of work on the building might have been undertaken after 390 in order to change its appearance and ward off the memory of the massacre.[11] The stripping of the seats and their reuse as *spolia* to strengthen the city walls might be related to these grisly events. If this was indeed the case, one wonders for how long the link between the marble slabs on the city walls and the hippodrome was remembered by the citizenry of Thessalonike.[12]

Another important instance of the use of *spolia* is found in the Byzantine cathedral church of Hagia Sophia.[13] The columns separating the naos from the aisles are crowned by a beautiful set of capitals with wind-swept acanthus leaves of the type dating from the early sixth century (Figure 2.7). Only the capitals of the north aisle are original; those of the south aisle were destroyed by fire in 1890 and restored with plaster.[14] Capitals with windswept acanthus leaves were no longer being carved when the present church was built in the eighth century; they must be *spolia*, carefully selected for recycling in the building of the new church. It is difficult to ascertain what building they came from. They may have belonged to the previous Episcopal basilica, which probably collapsed in the earthquakes of 620–630. This was a large five-aisled Early-Christian basilica of an entirely different plan from the present church. The ancient capitals with windswept leaves were readymade, beautifully carved capitals of valuable marble. But they were also *spolia* from an earlier religious building and we may suppose that they were considered precious and holy because of this origin.

Other instances attest to the fact that *spolia* could have a religious value beyond their function as building materials. A marble slab originating from the church of Hagia Sophia, now in the Museum of Byzantine Culture, serves as a useful example (Figure 2.8). The panel, used horizontally, was carved with framed crosses in Early Christian times. In the Byzantine period, the crosses were covered with plaster, the panel was turned vertically, and a standing saint was painted over the marble relief (only fragments of the painted plaster remain today). What really mattered in the case of the marble slab was not the aesthetic value of the crosses and frames, but the spiritual significance of the slab: its material yet sacred presence underneath the mortar. This *spolium*, in other words, had become a relic to be preserved.[15] The same would have happened to the acanthus-leaf capitals coming, in all probability, from a

Figure 2.8 Thessalonike, Museum of Byzantine Culture. Painted marble slabs from Hagia Sophia (photo: author, with permission from the Greek Ministry of Culture & Tourism).

Figure 2.9 Thessalonike, Panagia Chalkeon, south façade (photo: Mark J. Johnson).

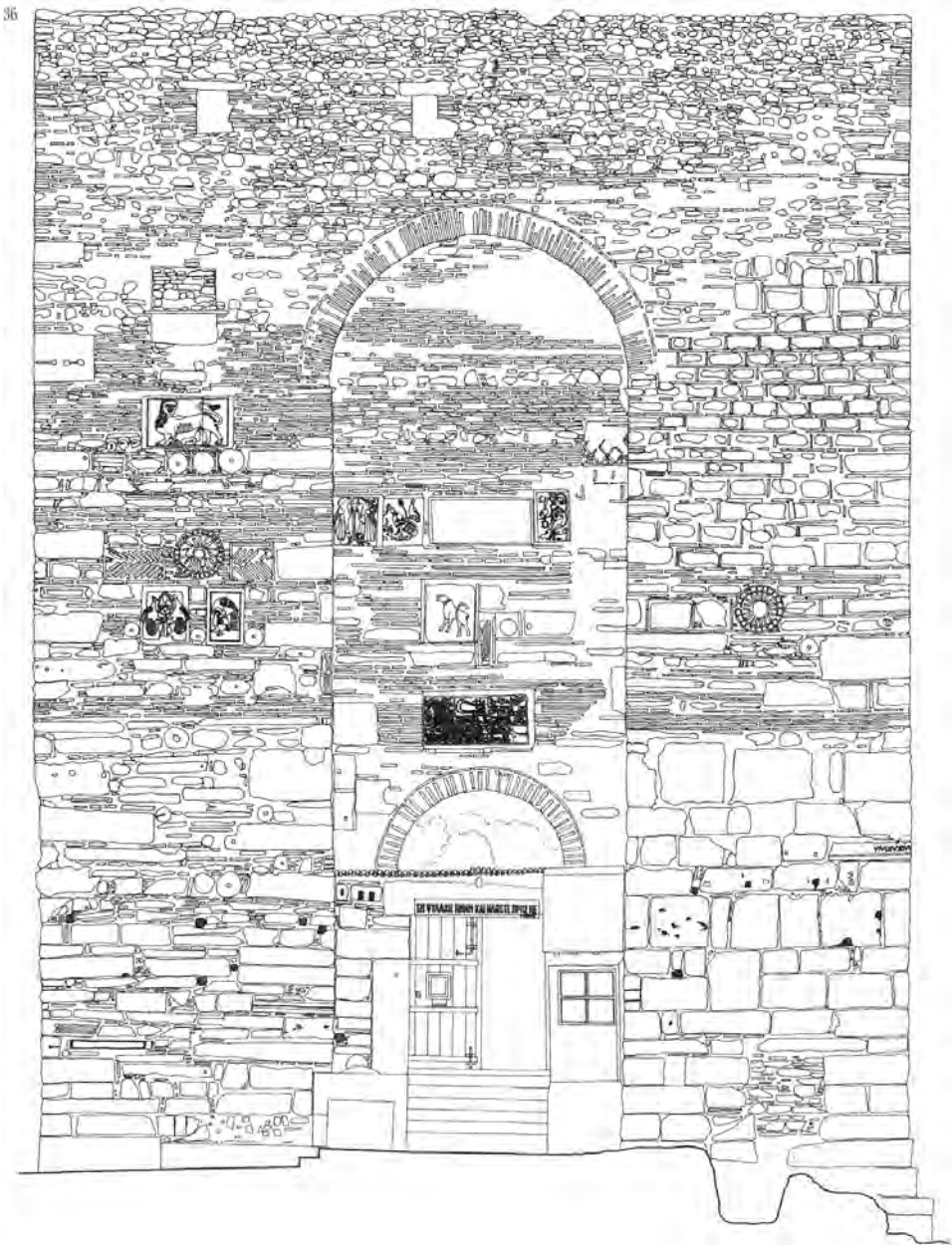


Figure 2.10 Thessalonike, Eptapyrgion. Main gate and tower (drawing by E. Malle, Ninth Ephoreia of Byzantine Antiquities, with permission).

Christian building of some antiquity and prestige. In this case, however, the fine carving on the capitals was also valued and displayed.

The Panagia Chalkeon presents an interesting case of a monument that lacks any kind of *spolia* even though it was built on a site—the southwest corner of the Roman agora's lower square—that must have offered plenty of them.[16] Consecrated in 1028, the church is a remarkable example of the Middle Byzantine cross-in-square type with four columns (Figure 2.9). It is uniformly built according to a well-characterized design: two-story narthex with domed side chapels, elegant rows of windows, indented arches, dentil bands, octagonal drums, and brick half-columns. A marble cornice surrounds the entire church, and all of the sculpted pieces, including the capitals on the interior, seem to have been carved specifically for this building. Only the shafts of the four columns in the naos might be reused pieces.

Why did the builders not use *spolia* in this instance? They were in all probability readily available in the ancient Roman agora. It may be that a building of such accurately ordered design as the Panagia Chalkeon would not so easily allow for the fitting of *spolia* in it. But another reason for the absence of *spolia* is suggested by an inscription on the lintel above the main entrance stating that the church was consecrated in 1028 by the *protospatharios* Christophoros, the *katepan* of Langobardia, and his family, in a place that had once been "profane."[17] The expression ὁ πρὶν βέβηλος τόπος probably means that a pagan building had previously occupied the site. Such an explicit statement indicates the importance of making the place Christian by building a church. From this, one might infer that avoiding the use of *spolia* from ancient buildings was a way of preventing any possible contamination by monuments belonging to the heathen past.

My final example presents a distinct case, one that is considerably later than the preceding examples. *Spolia* are used extensively in the façade of the main entrance tower to the Eptapyrgion (Figures 2.10–2.12), and their various meanings there are worth investigating. The fortress was built on the northeast section and uppermost part of Thessalonike's Acropolis.[18] A lengthy inscription above the main gate states that the entrance tower was built in 1431 by Sultan Murad, through the hands of Çavuş Beğ.[19] Thessaloniki had been conquered by Murad II the previous year.[20] Various blocks of marble, as well as the shafts of two columns and four Byzantine parapet panels, are fixed in the wall just above the Ottoman inscription. A large relief with an animal suckling its cub (Figure 2.12) is found on the west bulwark surrounded by a series of lintels and blocks, above some drums and bases of columns. A Roman triple portrait, most likely a funerary relief, is inserted in the wall next to it.[21]

The meaning of the remarkable assemblage of *spolia* above the main gate to the Eptapyrgion goes beyond a purely decorative function. The *spolia* there seem to refer, both literally and symbolically, to the spoils of the city.

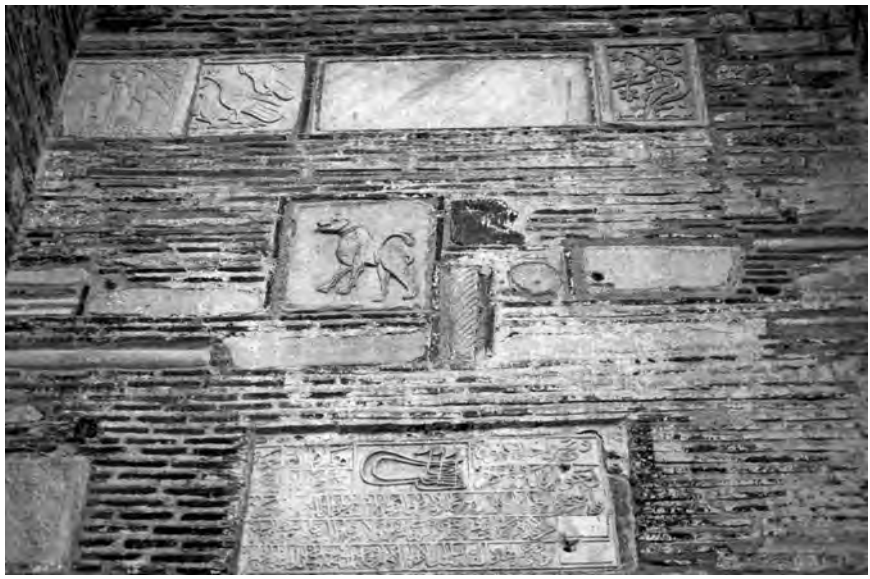


Figure 2.11 Thessalonike, Eptapyrgion. *Spolia* and inscription on the main gate (photo: author, with permission from the Ninth Ephoreia of Byzantine Antiquities).

Figure 2.12 Thessalonike, Eptapyrgion. *Spolia* on the west bulwark of the entrance tower (photo: author, with permission of the Ninth Ephoreia of Byzantine Antiquities).

By displaying them on the façade of the headquarters of their administration soon after conquering the city on 29 March 1430, the Ottomans were deliberately expressing their power over Thessalonike. They could choose as spoils whatever piece of sculpture they wished, from whatever period of the newly conquered city's long past.

This handful of examples outlined thus far presents a set of divergent cases. First, in fifth-century Thessalonike, marble seats from the hippodrome were transformed into a defensive shield along the city walls. This may have been a symbolic attempt to obliterate the memory of the 390 CE massacre. Second, in the eighth century, four large capitals with wind-swept leaves were placed above the columns of the naos of the Cathedral church, their display showing an appreciation for a sculpted design from two centuries earlier. Third, in the eleventh century, no *spolia* were used in the church of the Panagia Chalkeon despite evidence of their availability; they may have been avoided out of fear of contamination by pagan idols. Finally, in the fifteenth century, an array of *spolia* from different sites and times was arranged on the façade of the Eptapyrgion. This was a display of power over the city and its history—a bold statement that the physical remains of Thessalonike's long past were now in the hands of the new Ottoman rulers.

Is it possible to read the numerous instances of the use of *spolia* in Thessalonike as diverse but comparable examples of a similar trend that, when taken together, tell us more than can be gleaned from each specific case taken on its own? At first blush, these four examples of the use of *spolia*, when viewed in the context of the countless others throughout the city, suggest that any attempt at categorization is futile: the contexts and reasons for the use of *spolia*, and the possible meanings associated with them, are too varied and elusive.

I would like to suggest, however, that despite initial appearances, the evidence does in fact warrant a more comprehensive interpretation of the use of *spolia* in Thessalonike, and that this interpretation suggests something of relevance beyond the confines of that city. In the examples dating from the time of Byzantine rule, the guiding principle seems to be that availability leads to use. This pragmatic attitude may well recognize the symbolic meaning associated with building materials, and obviously appreciates the aesthetic quality of carved stones and their possible visual effects. At its core, however, the prevailing idea is that whatever the accidents of history have made available is legitimate material for the purposes of the present.[22] What these examples attest to is a sense of urban continuity, and by extension historical continuity. In the case of the Panagia Chalkeon, if the theory is correct, it is precisely an intentional discontinuity—referred to in the inscription ὁ πρὶν βέβηλος τόπος on the lintel of the main portal—that prevents the builders there from using *spolia*. Whenever *spolia* are used—as they so often are, in all sorts of buildings from all periods of the long Byzantine history of

Thessalonike—an immediate, pragmatic relationship prevails, an attitude to older architectural material that implies continuity with the past. This attitude is well represented by a large fifth-century impost block, now in the Museum of Byzantine Culture, which was later turned upside down and converted into a well-curb (Figure 2.13).

The façade of the Eptapyrgion is a radically different case, however. The variety of *spolia* displayed there involved a process of selection from different sites, possibly at some distance from each other and from the Eptapyrgion itself. The arrangement of the carved stones above the entrance, and the Ottoman inscription informing the viewer of the date and patron of the tower indicate premeditated symbolic intentions. Here, the builders gathered and fixed on the façade of the fortress marble carvings which are not simply *spolia*, in the sense of recycled building components, but also spoils, trophies from a recent victory. More than in any of the Byzantine examples, the use of *spolia* on the façade of the Eptapyrgion suggests a connection between *spolia* and power over the physical remains of the past, and, by implication, expresses an assessment of the site's history. Exactly what statement the Ottoman rulers of

Figure 2.13 Thessalonike, Museum of Byzantine Culture. Impost block reused as a well-curb (photo: author, with permission from the Greek Ministry of Culture & Tourism).

Thessalonike are making by their use of *spolia* is not fully clear. Yet no viewer, of whatever background, could miss the fact that these *spolia* are not used on the façade simply because they were to hand as useful building materials, but because they were war booty, visual expressions of the power conferred by victory.

The display of *spolia* on the façade of the Eptapyrgion does not imply, of course, that *spolia* were not also used as practical building materials in Ottoman Thessalonike. Written sources indicate that they were. In the *Diegesis* written by John Anagnostes sometime after the conquest of the city in 1430, the author records that materials from collapsed Byzantine churches "were carried off and added to other newer buildings and particularly to the public bath house which stands in the middle of the city," namely the Bey Hamam built by Murad II in 1444.[23] The novelty is not the use of *spolia*, well attested in the Byzantine precedents, but their symbolic display on the façade of the Ottoman fortress.

It is hard to assess what knowledge of the city's past the new Ottoman rulers of Thessalonike had in the fifteenth century, and what the long history of their newly conquered city meant to them. The *spolia* on the façade of the Eptapyrgion do not provide much evidence in this regard. Their arrangement and display may well follow an ancient tradition of showing publicly the spoils of war more than implying any knowledge of the origin and meaning of those *spolia*.[24] I wonder, however, if the symbolic use of *spolia* on the entrance tower to the Eptapyrgion is not in itself a declaration of discontinuity, a recognition that the present—in this case Ottoman rule—has the power to collect, select, and show the remains of the past, and, by doing so, to transform the past into a historic narrative. *Spolia*, used throughout the Byzantine period in countless forms of practical continuity with the past, are displayed symbolically on the façade of the Eptapyrgion as evidence that the previous chapters in the long history of Thessalonike have now drawn to a close.

The appreciation of *spolia* and their display in forms and settings that imply a break with the past is seen elsewhere in early-modern Europe. In fact, the awareness of a rupture, of a discontinuity with the past, is said to be at the core of the early modern European perception of itself, and of its place in the unfolding of history. The European Renaissance would envision a distant past whose continuity with the present had been broken, and along with it a more recent past—a middle age—that both marks and fills the distance from Antiquity. The Renaissance discourse on history and the past goes hand in hand with a fascination for *spolia* as artifacts displayed in the present in recognition of their belonging to the past. The *spolia* on the façade of the Eptapyrgion suggests that something of this kind was also happening in early Ottoman Thessalonike.[25]

Acknowledgments

This article had its origins as a presentation given at the seminar "Thessaloniki: a Mediterranean City between East and West" at Princeton in the fall of 1998. I would like to thank Professor Ćurčić, the other students in that seminar, and the many people in Thessalonike who made our one-week visit in November 1998 such a memorable and formative experience. Thanks to Barry McCrea for his help in editing my presentation in 1998 as well as the present article.

Notes

1 D. Kinney, "The Concept of Spolia," *A Companion to Medieval Art: Romanesque and Gothic in Northern Europe*, ed. C. Rudolph (Oxford, 2006), 233–52, on 233.

2 On *spolia* in general see S. Settis, "Continuità, distanza, conoscenza. Tre usi dell'antico," in *Memoria dell'antico nell'arte italiana, III. Dalla tradizione all'archeologia*, ed. S. Settis (Torino, 1986), 373–486; M. Greenhalgh, *The Survival of Roman Antiquities in the Middle Ages* (London, 1989); J. Alchermes, "Spolia in Roman Cities of the Late Empire: Legislative Rationales and Architectural Reuse," *DOP* 48 (1994): 167–78; D. Kinney, "Rape or Restitution of the Past? Interpreting *Spolia*," in *The Art of Interpreting*, ed. S. C. Scott (University Park, 1995), 52–67; L. De Lachenal, *Spolia. Uso e reimpiego dell'antico dal III al XIV secolo* (Milan, 1995); *Antike Spolien in der Architektur des Mittelalters und der Renaissance*, ed. J. Poeschke (Munich, 1996); D. Kinney, "Spolia. *Damnatio* and *renovatio memoriae*," *MAAR* 42 (1997): 117–48; H. Saradi, "The Use of Ancient Spolia in Byzantine Monuments: The Archaeological and Literary Evidence," *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* 3/4 (1997): 395–423; *Ideologie e pratiche del reimpiego nell'alto medioevo (16–21 aprile 1998)*, Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo 46 (Spoleto, 1999); A. Papalexandrou, "Memory Tattered and Torn: Spolia in the Heartland of Byzantine Hellenism," in *Archaeologies of Memory*, ed. R. M. Van Dyke and S. E. Alcock (Oxford, 2003), 56–80; S. Settis, "Roma: eternità delle rovine," *Eutropia* 3 (2003): 133–43; F. Pontani, "Rovine nella cultura bizantina," *Senso delle rovine e riuso dell'antico*, ed. W. Cupperi (Pisa, 2004), 45–53; M. Greenhalgh, *Marble Past, Monumental Present: Building with Antiquities in the Mediaeval Mediterranean* (Leiden, 2009).

3 On the urban history of Byzantine Thessalonike, see Ch. Bakirtzis, "The Urban Continuity and Size of Late Byzantine Thessalonike," *DOP* 57 (2003): 35–64.

4 R. Cormack, "The Classical Tradition in the Byzantine Provincial City: the Evidence of Thessalonike and Aphrodisias," in *Byzantium and the Classical Tradition: University of Birmingham Thirteenth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies 1979*, ed. M. Mullett and R. Scott (Birmingham, 1981), 103–19.

5 On the fortification walls of Thessalonike, see J.-M. Spieser, *Thessalonique et ses monuments du IV^e^ au VI^e^ siècle: contribution a l'étude d'une ville paléochrétienne* (Athens, 1984), 25–80; G. M. Velenis, *Τα τείχη της Θεσσαλονίκης απο τον Κάσσανδρο ως τον Ηράκλειο* (Thessalonike, 1998); J.-M. Spieser, "Les remparts de Thessalonique," *BSl* 60 (1999): 557–74; N. Bakirtzis, "The Visual Language of Fortification Facades: The Walls of Thessaloniki," *Mnemeio kai Perivallon* 9 (2005): 15–34.

6 The practice of inserting *spolia* in city walls was common. A remarkable example is the gigantic face of Medusa, originally part of a colossal statue, which was embedded in the north fortification wall of Veria not only as building material but also for visual effect. For other cases, see Greenhalgh, *Survival*, 37–55; S. Redford, "The Seljuqs of Rum and the Antique," *Muqarnas* 10 (1993): 148–56; M. Greenhalgh, "Spolia in Fortifications: Turkey, Syria and North Africa," *Ideologie e pratiche del reimpiego nell'alto medioevo (16–21 aprile 1998)*, Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'alto Medioevo 46 (Spoleto, 1999), 785–935.

7 P. N. Papageorgiou, "Ἐργατῶν σήματα καὶ ὀνόματα ἐπὶ τῶν μαρμάρων τοῦ θεάτρου τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης," *Archaiologike Ephemeris* (1911): 168–73.

8 M. Vickers, "The Hippodrome at Thessaloniki," *JRS* 62 (1972): 25–32, on 26 and 30. See also E. Dyggve, "Fouilles et Recherches faites en 1939 et en 1952–53 à Thessaloniki," *CorsiRav* 3 (1957): 79–88, on 81; Velenis, *Τα τείχη της Θεσσαλονίκης*, 108–11, 171. On the Hippodrome at Thessalonike, see also F. Sear, *Roman Theatres: An Architectural Study* (Oxford, 2006), 420–21. R. M. Butler, "Late Roman Town Walls in Gaul," *AJ* 116 (1959): 25–50, on 40–41, records the dismantling of important public buildings for the construction of fortification walls and the use of seats from the amphitheatre as foundation blocks in the Late Roman walls of Paris, Metz, and Soissons.

9 For a different reading of the evidence, see Spieser, *Thessalonique*, 66, n. 242.

10 On the Massacre of Thessalonike, see P. Brown, *Power and Persuasion in Late Antiquity: Towards a Christian Empire* (Madison, 1992), 109–13; D. Washburn, "The Thessalonian Affair in the Fifth-Century Histories," in *Violence in Late Antiquity: Perceptions and Practices*, ed. H. A. Drake (Aldershot, 2006), 215–24.

11 Vickers, "Hippodrome," 30–31, refers to an inscription that states that works on the hippodrome were undertaken by a certain "Domitius Catafronius v(ir) p(erfectissimus) proc(urator) – s(acrae) / m(onetae) T(hessalonicensis)." It is not known exactly when these works were undertaken.

12 A distich inscription on the fortification walls records that τείχεσιν ἀρρήκτοις Ὁρμίσδας ἐξετέλεσσε | τήνδε πόλιν μεγάλην χεῖρας ἔχ(ω)ν καθαρά(ς): "with unbreakable walls Hormisdas fortified this great city, having clean hands". It is unlikely that "having clean hands" was meant as an oblique reference to the 390 massacre. Other uses of the expression and its monumental context suggest that the inscription only praises Hormisdas for handling the public funding for the walls honestly; see B. Croke, "Hormisdas and the Late Roman Walls of Thessalonika," *GRBS* 19 (1978): 251–8; E. Kourkoutidou-Nikolaidou and A. Tourta, *Wandering in Byzantine Thessaloniki* (Athens, 1997), 20; Velenis, *Τα τείχη της Θεσσαλονίκης*, 111–12, 142, 172; G. Fiaccadori, "Πρόσοψις, non πρόοψις. Efeso, Gerusalemme, Aquileia (nota a IEPH 495, 1 S.)," *La Parola del Passato* 58 (2003): 183–249, on 196–7 and 243; G. Agosti, "Miscellanea epigrafica I. Note letterarie a carmi epigrafici tardoantichi," *Medioevo Greco: Rivista di storia e filologia bizantina* 5 (2005): 1–30, esp. 1–6.

13 K. Theoharidou, *The Architecture of Hagia Sophia, Thessaloniki: From Its Erection up to the Turkish Conquest* (Oxford, 1988).

14 On these capitals, see Theoharidou, *Hagia Sophia*, 114–16, 214–15.

15 On the topic of the reuse of construction materials from an earlier building in medieval renovations and reconstructions of churches, see R. Ousterhout, "Architecture as Relic and the Construction of Sanctity: The Stones of the Holy Sepulchre," *JSAH* 62 (2003): 4–23.

16 Krautheimer, *ECBA*, 373–4; S. Ćurčić, "Architectural Significance of Subsidiary Chapels in Middle Byzantine Churches," *JSAH* 36 (1977): 94–110, on 106–7; and A. Tsitouridou, *The Church of the Panagia Chalkeon* (Thessaloniki, 1985).

17 + Ἀφηερόθη ὁ πρὴν βέβηλος τόπος εἰς ναὸν περίβλέπτον τῆς θ(εοτό)κου παρὰ Χριστωφό(ρου) τοῦ ἐνδοξοτά(του) βασιληκοῦ | (πρωτο)σπαθαρήου κ(αὶ) κατ(ε)πάνο Λαγουβαρδίας κ(αὶ) τῖς συνβίου αὐτοῦ Μαρίας κ(αὶ) τῶν τέκνον αὐτῶν Νηκηφό(ρου), Ἄννης κ(αὶ) Κατακαλῖς μηνὶ Σεπτεμβρίο ἠνδ(ικτιῶνος) ιβ' ἔτ(ους) 'ϛφλζ'. + "This once profane place is consecrated to be the glorious church of the Mother of God by Christopher, the most illustrious imperial *protospathario* and *katepano* of Langobardia, his wife Maria, and their children Nicephoro, Anna, and Catacale. Month of September, indiction 12, year 6537 (= 1028)." On the inscription, see J.-M. Spieser, "Inventaires en vue d'un recueil des inscriptions historiques de Byzance. I. Les inscriptions de Thessalonique," *TM* 5 (1973): 145–80: 163–4; Tsitouridou, *Panagia Chalkeon*, 9–10; Kourkoutidou-Nikolaidou and Tourta, *Wandering in Byzantine Thessaloniki*, 177. On the *protospathario* and *katepano* Christophoro, see V. von Falkenhausen, *Untersuchungen über die byzantinische Herrschaft in Süditalien vom 9. bis ins 11. Jahrhundert* (Wiesbaden, 1967), 87–8.

18 On the Eptapyrgion, see S. Ćurčić, "Late Medieval Fortified Palaces in the Balkans: Security and Survival," *Mnemeio kai Perivallon* 6 (2000): 11–48: 37–9; E. Tasanana, ed., *The Eptapyrgion: The Citadel of Thessalonike (Thessaloniki, October 2001–January 2002)* (Athens, 2001); Ch. Bakirtzis, "Urban Continuity," 43–6; N. Bakirtzis, "Visual Language," 24; H. W. Lowry, "Selânik's (Thessaloniki's) Fortress of the Seven Towers: What it Tells Us About the Post-Conquest History of the City," in his *The Shaping of the Ottoman Balkans, 1350–1550: The Conquest, Settlement & Infrastructural Development of Northern Greece* (Istanbul, 2008), 107–38.

19 "[tuğra]: murad son of mehmed han: Conquered and took by force this Fortress (*Qal¢a*), through the help of God, his support and his might – the Sultan of the Sultans of the Arabs and non-Arabs, the one who humbles the enemies of God, Sultan Murad son of Sultan Mehmed, may victories over his enemies never stop – from the hands of the Franks and the Christians. And he killed some of them and captured some of them and their children and their belongings. And after a year had passed he built and raised this Tower (*Qule*) through the hands of the King of the Emirs and Nobles Çavuş Beğ, in the blessed month of Ramadan in the year 834 [May 13 – June 12, 1431]" – translation from Lowry, "Selânik's (Thessaloniki's) Fortress of the Seven Towers," 120.

20 See S. Vryonis, "The Ottoman Conquest of Thessaloniki in 1430," *Continuity and Change in Late Byzantine and Early Ottoman Society: Papers given at a Symposium at Dumbarton Oaks in May 1982*, ed. A. Bryer and H. Lowry (Washington, D.C., 1986), 281–321. On the history of Thessalonike after the Ottoman conquest, see also I. K. Hassiotis, "Thessaloniki under Ottoman Domination: The Early Period (Sixteenth c.–1830)," in *Queen of the Worthy: Thessaloniki, History and Culture*, ed. I. K. Hassiotis (Thessaloniki, 1997), 98–110; and M. Mazower, *Salonica, City of Ghosts: Christians, Muslims, and Jews, 1430–1950* (New York, 2005), 15–45.

21 On the *spolia* on the façade of the Eptapyrgion, see Ch. Bakirtzis, "Urban Continuity," 45; Lowry, "Selânik's (Thessaloniki's) Fortress of the Seven Towers," 126–7; N. Bakirtzis, "Visual Language," 24–6, fig. 14.

22 On this concept, see A. Cutler, "Reuse or Use? Theoretical and Practical Attitudes Toward Objects in the Early Middle Ages," *Ideologie e pratiche del reimpiego nell'alto*

medioevo (16–21 aprile 1998), Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'alto Medioevo 46 (Spoleto, 1999), 1055–83.

23 G. Tsaras, ed., *Ἰωάννου Ἀναγνώστου Διήγησις περὶ τῆς τελευταίας ἁλώσεως τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης. Μονῳδία ἐπὶ τῇ ἁλώσει τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης* (Thessaloniki, 1958), 64; translation from Vryonis, "The Ottoman Conquest of Thessaloniki," 286, 299.

24 See Lowry, "Selânik's (Thessaloniki's) Fortress of the Seven Towers," 127. For important precedents of the display on city walls of a combination of inscriptions and *spolia* with carved reliefs, see Redford, "The Seljuqs of Rum."

25 On the issue of the early Ottoman attitude towards the past, see R. Ousterhout, "The East, the West, and the Appropriation of the Past in Early Ottoman Architecture," *Gesta* 43 (2004): 165–76.

3

Church Building and Miracles in Norman Italy: Texts and *Topoi*

Mark J. Johnson

The study of medieval architecture can lead one down many paths. Formally analyzing architectural design and building techniques, identifying models and influences, and examining architectural symbolism are all valid approaches that each lead in some degree to an understanding of a particular monument or group of monuments in the medieval world. Another path, one that I shall follow here, concerns the examination of literary sources and, more specifically, the accounts of miracles associated with church building in Norman Italy during the eleventh and twelfth centuries (Figure 3.1).

There are two such stories of miracles from Sicily during this period that are well known, but modern scholarship has treated them with a cynical eye as later fabrications employing well known—and therefore, suspect—literary *topoi*, invented to hide the "true" facts behind a building's construction and especially of the patron's motives. A reading of the sources reveals several other miracle stories connected with church building in Norman Italy that have gone unnoticed. These are enough to suggest that most of them were current with the events they detail and that people concerned actually believed they were involved with a miracle. While the stories are interesting examples of a wide phenomenon of miracles in medieval sources, their study can also lead to a better understanding of the process by which a decision is made to construct a church and how that decision is justified in the minds of patrons and their contemporaries.[1]

The best-known miracle story connected with a church in Sicily begins with a sea voyage in 1130 as King Roger II was returning to Palermo from a stay at Salerno on the mainland (Figure 3.2). During the night a terrible storm arose, tossing the ship about on the waves and causing the passengers to fear for their lives. As others crouched and hung on for dear life, Roger stood on the deck, stretched out his arms, and prayed:

> You Savior, my Lord Jesus Christ, who saved the people of Israel in the Red Sea from the persecutions of the pharaoh … By the power of Your right hand You delivered Peter who had denied You and Paul, the persecutor of the church, from sinking into the waves and the deep sea. Remember not my sins nor those of the others and if someone must perish, let it not be them but me, if thus it will please You, oh Lord. You who know how to bring tranquility after the tempest, Good Savior, save us this hour with Your virtue and I will likewise swear a vow to You. If I am saved from the waves of the sea and do not become food for ferocious sea monsters and am not enveloped by the sands of the beach, but I reach the land's shore safely, in the very same place will I build a temple to Your honor and glory, Savior, and to that of the Apostles.

The source goes on to say that

> immediately … the sky returned serene and the sea tranquil. With little labor they arrived in Sicily with joy and song at Cefalù on the day of the Transfiguration of the Lord. And descending happily [Roger] immediately measured with the royal scepter where the church dedicated to the Savior and the apostles Peter and Paul would be built.[2]

Figure 3.1
Map of Southern Italy and Sicily showing location of churches (drawing: Brandon E. Johnson).

Figure 3.2 Cefalù Cathedral, begun 1131, west façade (photo: author).

The story has been seen as a later fabrication invented to justify the construction of a new church in Cefalù and its elevation to the status of a cathedral in a city that had not previously been the seat of a bishop.[3] There are reasons to believe that the story may have been current at the time of the church's construction in the 1130s-1140s. Elements of the mosaic program within the sanctuary of the cathedral—in particular, the presence of images of Jonah, Theodore, and Nicholas, the latter two having roles as protectors from storms—may be interpreted as references to this perceived miracle.[4]

Certainly some of the skepticism toward this account lies in its familiarity: the miraculously indicated site is a common topos in miracle stories connected with church foundations. One of the earliest is found in Besa's fifth-century biography of Shenoute, the founder of the monastery of Deir Anba Shnuda in Egypt.[5] Besa claims that Christ himself appeared to Shenoute and helped him lay out the foundations of the church. The Lord also told him that he would find the means to pay for the construction of the church, which came to pass when the abbot found what the *vita* calls "a leather bag [of gold?]." From the following century Gregory the Great gives an account of Benedict, who sent several monks to build a church and monastery at Terracina and then appeared in a dream shared by the new abbot and prior to show them where to build each part of the monastery.[6] In the tenth century a divine vision led Nikon of Sparta to build the church of St. Photeine as he had seen it.[7] In the West, Bernard of Clairvaux, a contemporary of Roger, was blessed with a nocturnal vision of singing angels that indicated to him where to build a church and monastery.[8]

Left to stand alone, the story of the foundation of the Cathedral of Cefalù might well be considered simply another occurrence of a familiar topos, but it turns out that this is not the only instance of a building miracle connected with Roger, a fact apparently not recognized in previous scholarship. One of the king's contemporaries was Bartholomew of Simeri, abbot of the Basilian monastery of Santa Maria del Patirion near Rossano in Calabria (Figure 3.3). Roger, and his father before him, had donated money toward the construction of the monastery. Bartholomew famously traveled to Constantinople to acquire icons, religious books, and other objects for the monastery. At some point after his return to Calabria, Bartholomew was accused of taking some of the money given to him by Roger and other donors and passing it on to his relatives. He was called to meet with the king at Messina and was there sentenced to death for his embezzlement. Bartholomew requested that he be allowed to celebrate Mass one last time before his execution and Roger granted him this favor. As Bartholomew celebrated the Mass at the church of San Nicola della Punta near Messina, a column of fire appeared behind him that was seen by Roger and his retinue. Roger saw this as a sign that the charges had been false and said to Bartholomew: "Most honored Father, in the present place a pillar of fire was lit next to you. You choose what should be

Figure 3.3
Rossano (near), S. Maria di Patir, ca. 1100, exterior from east (photo: author).

here. He [Bartholomew] decided that an altar should be erected here and that a church dedicated to the Savior should be raised in this place."[9]

The king ordered the construction of a church and a large monastery on this spot that would come to be known as San Salvatore de Lingua Phari. He gave it riches and possessions of lands and other gifts. Bartholomew sent for Luke and 12 other monks to come staff the monastery and then returned to Rossano, where he died in 1130. The new foundation became one of the most important monasteries in twelfth-century Sicily, but it was unfortunately destroyed in the sixteenth century to make way for the fortress that has guarded the entrance of the harbor ever since.[10]

Literary sources recount several occasions in which patrons in Norman Italy were led to build or repair churches because of sacred visions. Bartholomew himself had enjoyed a previous building miracle. A few years before the miracle in Messina, probably around 1090, he had sought to live the life of a hermit monk but, according to his *vita*, the Virgin Mary appeared to him and said:

> "Bartholomew, cease for now this impulse towards the contemplative life and the desire to live in inaccessible deserts. In fact, it is necessary for you to remain here and build for me in this place a school of souls in which many, by your work, will be made worthy of salvation." … He dedicated himself totally to the foundation of the monastery, trusting in the protection of She who had exhorted him and in the strength of Her Son, and God.[11]

This led to the building of S. Maria del Patirion, mentioned above. Although the monastic buildings lay in ruins, the church, a basilica with a dome over the sanctuary, remains in good condition.[12]

The monk John of Matera (1050–1139) is known as the founder of the monastery at Pulsano on the Gargano peninsula, where he spent the last years of his life. Before founding that monastery, he was living in the Apulian city of Ginosa when the Apostle Peter appeared to him in a vision and ordered John to rebuild the ruined church of Peter located a mile outside the city. Peter told him, "to restore that which is destroyed; and that which does not exist, acquire by your just work so that there the divine and nocturnal offices may be celebrated in God's and my honor." John organized the brethren and citizens who were able to locate a quarry and abundant limestone to make lime for mortar, and the church was soon completed as commanded, though it no longer survives.[13]

Other *topoi* connected with the construction of churches that appear in medieval sources are found in Norman texts. The *vita* of William of Vercelli (died 1142) contains a common one. Its author, John of Nusco, one of William's disciples, recounts that during the construction of the church and monastery founded by William at Montevergiliano, later Montevergine, near modern Avellino, a man named Walter appeared. Walter had a withered arm but

seemed to possess knowledge about construction practices that would aid in the work. William invited him to join the workforce, but Walter responded that while he was in fact an experienced builder, a fall while building a tower in his hometown in Liguria had rendered his arm useless and him unable to work. Upon hearing this

> William, moved by compassion and filled with faith, pointed to a stone and said to Walter, "In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, take this stone, and having received your original health, hurry and place it on the building." Walter approached the stone, and having regained strength greater than he had ever possessed, lifted it with both hands and placed in on the building. Very grateful for this blessing, he threw himself at the feet of the saint, weeping for his regained health, he thanked the Omnipotent God and the blessed man [William].

A few days later Walter joined the brotherhood and went on to work on many other buildings during his life.[14]

The *topos* of the miraculously healed or protected worker is found in both Western and Byzantine accounts. Once again the influential *vita* of Benedict provides and example.[15] While the monastery was under construction at Montecassino a wall fell, crushing a very young monk. He was taken to a room and Benedict prayed for his wellbeing and "in that very hour" the boy was sent back to work "as sound and healthy as he had been before."[16] An account of the eleventh or twelfth century states that at the church of St. Photeine in Constantinople painters were working when the plank supporting their ladder broke and "surely they would have been stabbed by these [pieces of wood] and crushed to death, had not the helping [Photeine] … caught everything on a tiny nail and checked the collapse and saved the men."[17]

A miraculous healing could also lead to a wealthy patron deciding to build or rebuild a church or monastery as an act of gratitude. The *vita* of John Theriste contains such a story. According to this account, John grew up in Muslim Sicily and only when he was a teenager did his mother tell him that she was a Christian and encouraged him to flee to Calabria, where he could be baptized. This he did, being baptized and deciding to become a monk at Stilo. The *vita* recounts that shortly after his death, a young noble named Roger, son of the "*basileus*" of the land, also named Roger, was suffering from some kind of plague and came to the saint's monastery near Stilo, hoping to be healed. Learning that the saint had recently died, he asked to be taken to his grave. Lifting the hem of the saint's clothing from the tomb, Roger rubbed it over his face, healing his lesions as he did and being cured from his illness. In gratitude, he donated a large sum of money to the monastery so it could be entirely restored, and he also granted it rich possessions.[18]

This story is at first problematic: although the reference to the two Rogers can be connected to Count Roger of Calabria and Sicily and his son, the later

Figure 3.4 Palermo, S. Spirito, 1178–1179, exterior from northeast (photo: author).

King Roger II, all indications from the rest of the *vita* make it likely that John lived in the tenth or maybe the early eleventh century, well before there were Norman rulers named Roger in Calabria. Furthermore, no other source claims so horrific an illness for either Roger. On the other hand, the evidence of the church itself, San Giovanni Vecchio in Bivongi, just to the north of Stilo, suggests a date of the first half of the twelfth century for its construction. As Acconcia Longo suggests, the episode of the sick Roger was likely added to the *vita* at a later time, as a way of building up the prestige of the monastery because of the purported miracle and as a way of restating the royal origins of many of the monastery's possessions, which had indeed been donated by the two Rogers.[19]

In other stories patrons faced the challenge of securing funding to pay the expenses associated with building churches. Medieval sources often contain examples of miraculously provided funding, and the Normans in Italy also have their own treasure stories. The first is reported as an historical event in one of the Sicilian chronicles. The archbishop of Palermo, Walter Ophamil, had decided to construct the church of S. Spirito outside of the city walls in an area that was then, and remains to this day, a cemetery (Figure 3.4). While digging the foundations of the church in 1174 a "treasure" of some kind was found. This must have been a rather large treasure, as funds derived from it not only paid for the church of Santo Spirito but also for construction of the new cathedral.[20]

Literary sources claim that buried treasure had paid for the construction of other churches in Europe, such as a church at the monastery at Bangor, as recounted by Bernard of Clairvaux. The founder of the church was Malachy, the archbishop of Armagh, who had no funds but proceeded with the work and had his faith rewarded with the discovery of a treasure.[21]

Of all the Norman miracle stories, the one that elicits the most skepticism is the story of King William II and the foundation of the cathedral of Monreale. In the foundation legend, King William had been hunting in the park near Monreale and had fallen asleep. The Virgin Mary appeared to him and revealed where he could find a treasure hidden by his father, William I, ordering him to use the treasure to build the new church in her honor.[22] The main problem with this story is that it does not appear in a contemporary or even medieval account. Furthermore, the reason for building the church has been convincingly placed within the context of the rivalry between Archbishop Walter and Matthew of Aiello, William's chancellor.[23]

Norman Italy also is the setting for one of the more unusual miracle stories from the Middle Ages. It concerns not a saint but a church founder, though what is unusual is that the story recounts appearances of the founder after his death, as if he were a saint. Robert Guiscard, responsible in large part for the establishment of Norman control in southern Italy, decided around 1063 to enlarge the monastery church of the Holy Trinity in Venosa and make

it the burial place for his deceased relatives, including two of his brothers, who had preceded him as dukes of Apulia.[24] When he died in 1085, Robert's own remains were transported to the church for internment. The account in question is found in the *Chronicon Venusiam*, produced at the monastery:

> They say that in the time of Abbot Aegidius [c. 1167–1181] … there was a certain brother of sincere religion whose name was Robert, whom a fever long plagued. One day when he was excessively disturbed he fell forward asleep while prostrating himself [in prayer] upon the memorial to Duke Robert. While he slept he heard a voice [of such peculiarity] that he arose from the place into which he had come to lie down. But even though his head was cocked he saw no one and fell asleep again with his head reclined. Again he heard the voice from above and perceived he should arise and make no delay. Then, seized by intense fear, he raised his head up, yet he could see no one. So, for the third time in succession, he lay down his head and was overcome by a deep sleep, yet even though he slept deeply he heard the terrible voice: "Why do you touch me? Leave me, country boy!" But lying prostrate upon the ground the man remained thus and was released from the fever. And from that day on the brethren pass by with heads bowed in deepest reverence for the memory of the Duke.

The chronicle goes on to recount that the Duke himself appeared on two separate occasions, once to care for the brethren in the refectory and once in a procession with two men dressed as pontiffs in the sanctuary of the church "before the altar where the icon of Saint Nicholas was placed."[25] What is interesting is that, lacking an important local saint—one that might have had a connection with the founding of the monastery—the monks invested their lay founder Robert Guiscard, who came nowhere near sainthood during his life, with the saintly role of the deceased, protecting benefactor. This role is carried out assiduously as the ghost of Robert leads processions, finds lost liturgical implements, and even heals sick monks at the site of his tomb.[26]

Up to this point these stories might be questioned in some degree as belonging to a familiar milieu of medieval miracle stories, but one account of a divinely appointed building is remarkable not so much for its content as it is for the format in which it appears. Unlike the other stories in *vitae* or in other second-hand accounts, this story appears in an official document of donation and—equally important—in the voice of the founder.

In May 1157 King William I issued a diploma of donation in which he assigned a church he had built to the monastery of San Giovanni degli Eremiti in Palermo. He recounts how an abbot named John and two of his brethren named Martin and Maurus had petitioned him for a place where they might establish a monastery. The king then writes:

> I therefore have considered their petition, having God before [my] eyes—through whom I live and reign—and I have searched the chambers of my heart for a way in which these brethren might lead a solitary life and plead there

> with God and the Blessed Virgin on my behalf. And since I would often head for the place called Adrianus [modern Palazzo Adriano, south of Corleone in Sicily (Figure 3.5)] to hunt, to exercise my body, and to intentionally avoid leisure … While I was pursuing the hunt, I wounded with my own hand a certain wild boar for which, upon retrieving my hatchet, I was honored by all men because of my leadership. In the place in which said wounded boar had died, I glanced upon a divine revelation which delighted my soul with spiritual sweetness, and from that hour I determined in my mind to establish a church there in honor of God and the Blessed Virgin Mary and to arrange for suppliants in the same place … Then I heeded the humble offering and petition of said brethren and established a church under the holy name of the Blessed Mary within the forests of Adrianus next to the spring that is called Ancille, where I saw said vision and I adorned it with elegance and all manner of decoration.[27]

This is a remarkable document and a testament to the religious mindset of the period. William expresses the desire to do something that will orchestrate monastic prayers on his and his father's behalf, an extremely common *topos* in Norman foundation documents. It is interesting that this desire would be enough to justify the construction of a church and monastery, and indeed Norman rulers built many churches in southern Italy for that very reason. What is different is that William connects the desire to build with his own personal experience: he believed that he had seen a vision, though exactly what he thought he saw is not specified, and that this vision sanctified the place, leading him to construct and decorate a church that he then assigned to the brethren.[28]

The fact that William's account appears in an official document makes it difficult to dismiss and forces us to reconsider the other Norman accounts of building miracles. The apparition and treasure story of Monreale may be a later invention, taking elements from the story of William I at Adrianus, but it is plausible that some of the other stories contain at least some element of truth. It is entirely possible that Roger was on a ship traveling from Salerno to Palermo that was caught in a storm, and that he made a vow that was fulfilled in the building of Cefalù. Furthermore, Roger had, in fact, several experiences in his life that would have led him to believe in divine intervention and in the spiritual powers of holy men. As a child he suffered from a serious ear infection until his mother took him to the monastery of St. Philip of Fragalà in Sicily where he was healed, according to his mother, due to the saint's intervention.[29] He was also personally familiar with Bartholomew of Simeri, as noted in the *vita* of the saint, with John of Matera, after whom he named his foundation of San Giovanni degli Eremiti in Palermo, and with William of Vercelli, who visited the king in Palermo a few months before his death.[30]

Furthermore, while not all treasure stories are believable, it does not require a stretch of the imagination to accept the possibility that some sort

of treasure, whether a coin hoard or burial goods, might have been found in the area of a cemetery while the foundations of Santo Spirito were being dug outside Palermo. It might be harder to accept that enough treasure was found to pay for both this church and the new cathedral, but certainly funds could have helped in the construction of both.

These miracle stories, heretofore largely overlooked, provide important insight into the motives behind church building in Norman Italy. Here, as elsewhere, belief in the miraculous event of divine intervention was a strong reason to commemorate the miracle through a permanent memorial in the form of a church. Whether we in the present day accept these stories as true or not is irrelevant. What is evident, particularly in the foundation of the church of St. Mary of the Woods at Adrianus, is that this was a period of faith and that at least some of these patrons truly believed that they had witnessed miraculous events and apparitions that sanctified locales and led them to build churches to honor those holy sites and the holy persons connected with them.

Figure 3.5 Palazzo Adriano, view of town from the northwest (photo: author).

Acknowledgments

My interest in Norman Sicily comes in large part from the opportunity I had in 1982 to accompany Professor Ćurčić to Palermo where he was working on his chapter on the architecture of the church for the Martorana, published in Ernst Kitzinger's book on the mosaics of this Norman building. To see the master at work as he studied the fine details of the Martorana and to have him as my expert guide in seeing the Norman monuments of Sicily for the first time was the highlight of my education. For 30 years I have greatly benefited from his mentoring, his example and his friendship, and offer this small token of my appreciation.

Notes

1 In general on the issue of medieval miracles see B. Ward, *Miracles and the Medieval Mind. Theory, Record and Event 1000–1215* (Philadelphia, PA, 1982). On building miracles see C. Rudolph, "Building-Miracles as Artistic Justification in the Early and Mid-Twelfth Century," *Radical Art History. Internationale Anthologie Subject: O. K. Werckmeister*, ed. W. Kersten (Zurich, 1997), 399–410; C. Carty, "The Role of Dream Images in Authenticating Ecclesiastical Construction," *ZKunstg* 62 (1999): 45–90; and A. Remensnyder, *Remembering Kings Past. Monastic Foundation Legends in Medieval Southern France* (Ithaca, NY, 1995).

2 I. Carini, "Una pergamena sulla fondazione del Duomo di Cefalù," *AStSic*, ns 7 (1883): 136–8. This and all other translations here are mine.

3 O. Demus, *The Mosaics of Norman Sicily* (1949; rpt. New York, 1988), 3, calls it a "popular fabrication" with the real motive tied to Roger's ecclesiastical policy at the time. E. Borsook, *Messages in Mosaic. The Royal Programmes of Norman Sicily 1130–1187* (Woodbridge, 1990), 13, n. 3, attributes the invention of the legend to the authors of the fourteenth-century *Rollus Rubeus*, which contains a version of the episode. See C. Mirto, ed., *Rollus Rubeus, privilegia ecclesie Cephaleditane*, Documenti per servire alla storia di Sicilia, ser. 1, 29 (Palermo, 1972), 24–6. We find no mention of the story in H. Houben, *Roger II of Sicily: A Ruler between East and West* (Cambridge, 2002).

4 M. Johnson, "The Episcopal and Royal Views at Cefalù," *Gesta* 33 (1994): 128–9.

5 Besa, *The Life of Shenoute* 30–32, trans. D. N. Bell, Cistercian Studies, 73 (Kalamazoo, 1983), 51–2.

6 Gregory the Great, *Dialogorum Libri* 2.22, trans. O. J. Zimmermann and B. Avery, *Life and Miracles of St. Benedict (Book Two of the Dialogues)* (Collegeville, MN, 1949), 49–50.

7 *The Life of Saint Nikon*, trans. D. Sullivan (Brookline, MA, 1987), 118–19.

8 William of St.-Thierry, *Vita Prima* 1.34, PL 185:247. For similar stories from this period concerning the foundation of churches on the island of Sardegna, see R. Coroneo, "Segni e oggetti del pellerinaggio medioevale in Sardegna. L'età giudicale," in *Gli anni santi nella storia*, ed. L. D'Arienzo (Cagliari, 2000), 465–96, esp. 467–74.

9 G. Zaccagni, "Il *Bios* di san Bartolomeo da Simeri (BHG 235)," *RSBN* 33 (1996): 193–274. The episode is recounted in cc. 17–30, trans. Zaccagni, 251–73. The episode is not recounted in the Typikon of Luke for the monastery written in 1131/1132, but the first part of its text is missing. See J. Thomas and A. Hero, eds, *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents* (Washington, D.C., 2000), 637–48, esp. 643.

10 See C. Filangeri, "Due chiese del patrimonio basiliano non più esistenti," *Byzantino-Sicula, IV. Atti del I congresso internazionale di archeologia della Sicilia bizantina (Corleone, 1998)*, ed. R. M. Carra Bonacasa (Palermo, 2002), 593–609. For Roger's donations to the church, which began with a document of 1130, see M. Scaduto, *Il monachesimo basiliano nella Sicilia medievale* (Rome, 1947), 180–92.

11 *Vita Bartholomei*, c. 16, trans. Zaccagni, "Bios," 250.

12 L. Renzo, *Il monastero Santa Maria del Patire di Rossano* (Cosenza, 2003).

13 *Vita Iohannis Matherensi ord. Pulsanensis sub reg. S. Benedicti fundatore et abate apud Monte Garganum,* c. 6, in *AASS*, 20 Junii, 4: 42–3. See G. Limone, *Santi monaci e santi eremiti. Alla ricerca di un modello di perfezione nella letteratura agiografica dell'Apulia normanna* (Galatina, 1988), 53.

14 John of Nusco, *Vita Wilhelmi abbatis fundator eremitarum Montis Virginis*, c. 18, in F. Panarelli, *Scrittura agiografica nel Mezzogiorno normanno. La Vita di San Guglielmo da Vercelli* (Galatina, 2004), 29–31. This church was replaced in the second half of the twelfth century, for which see P. Tropeano, *Montevergine nella storia e nell'arte* (Naples, 1973), 119–20.

15 On the importance of the *vita* of Benedict in Southern Italy see G. Loud, "Monastic Miracles in Southern Italy," *Signs, Wonders, Miracles. Representations of Divine Power in the Life of the Church*, ed. K. Cooper and J. Gregory (Woodbridge, 2005), 109–22, esp. 110–13.

16 Gregory the Great, *Dialogues* 2.11, trans. Zimmermann, 30–31.

17 *The Posthumous Miracles of St. Photeine*, c. 8, tr. A.-M. Talbot, *AB* 112 (1994): 85–104, on 98–9. This and other accounts are discussed by R. Ousterhout, *Master Builders of Byzantium* (Princeton, 1999), 185–6.

18 *Vita Sancti Ioanne Theriste* 1.8; *AASS*, *Februarius* 3: 482–3; Italian trans. S. Barsanti, "Vita di s. Giovanni Terista," *AStCal* 22 (1953): 150–51.

19 A. Acconcia Longo, "S. Giovanni Terista nell'agiografia e nell'innografia," in her *Ricerche di agiografia italogreca* (Rome, 2003), 121–43, esp. 139–40. For the church see E. Zinzi, "San Giovanni Theriste: stato degli studi, problemi e proposte attuali di lettura," in *Calabria bizantina. Civiltà bizantina nei territori di Gerace e Stilo* (Soveria Mannelli, 1998), 409–62; and C. Bozzoni and A. Spiridione Curuni, "Una chiesa greca in Calabria: S. Giovanni Vecchio, storia e conservazione," *Opus: Quaderno di storia dell'architettura e restauro* 7 (2003): 39–58. The church was recently restored and is being used by Orthodox monks from Mt. Athos.

20 *Chronicon Siciliae ab anno circiter 820 usque ad ann. 1328*, c. 18, RIS, X, 815: "per quem Archiepiscopum Anno Domini MCLXXXIV regni Regis Guillelmi Secundi anno XVIII mensis Aprilis secundae indictionis incoepta fuit aedificati et deinde facta est major Panormitana Mater Ecclesia, et dotata de thesauro per eum invento prope Ecclesiam Sancti Spiritus de Panormo, tractavit." For the church of S. Spirito see T. Torregrossa, *La chiesa di Santo Spirito a Palermo* (Florence, 2000); for the cathedral, G. Bellafiore, *La cattedrale di Palermo* (Palermo, 1999).

21 Bernard, *Vita s. Malachie* 63, in *Sancti Bernardi Opera*, ed. J. Leclercq and H. M. Rochais (Rome, 1957–1977), 2: 367; and the *Life and Death of Saint Malachy the Irishman*, trans. R. Meyer (Kalamazoo, 1978), 79–80.

22 Demus, *Mosaics*, 95, citing a sixteenth-century source. I can find no earlier source for the legend.

23 Ibid., 94–9.

24 On the church see L. De Lachenal, "I normanni e l'antico. Per una ridefinizione dell'abbaziale incompiuta di Venosa in terra lucana," *BA* 96–7 (1996): 1–80.

25 In H. Houben, "Roberto il Guiscardo e il monachesimo," in his *Medioevo monastico meridionale* (Naples, 1987), 189–91.

26 On these saintly roles see Ward, *Miracles and the Medieval Mind*, *passim*.

27 H. Enzensberger, ed., *Guillelmi I. Regis Diplomata*, Codex Diplomaticus Regni Siciliae, ser. 1/3 (Cologne, 1996), 56–7.

28 The church does not survive. See L. White, *Latin Monasticism in Norman Sicily* (Cambridge, MA, 1938), 130–31, for other twelfth-century references to it. Its dedication to Mary suggests that she was the subject of William's vision.

29 As she recounts in a donation document of 1101 for which see G. Spata, *Le pergamene greche esistente nel grande archivio di Palermo* (Palermo, 1862), 191–6.

30 *Vita Wilhelmi*, c. 23, ed. Panarelli, *Scrittura*, 38–43.

4

Armenia and the Borders of Medieval Art

Christina Maranci

In the seventh century Armenia formed a frontier zone between Byzantium, Persia, and the emerging Arab caliphate. At this time, the region saw the construction of over two dozen domed churches bearing programs of relief sculpture and epigraphy. Between 1913 and 1918 the scholar Josef Strzygowski (1862–1941) visited Armenia and published a near-900-page volume championing the region as the cradle of medieval art. Strzygowski's text, and the early churches described in its pages, were both born during periods of imperial confrontation in the Caucasus. Both the text and the churches challenge notions of center and periphery and speak directly to problems of frontier existence: the reality of military violence, the urgency of diplomacy and protocol, and the risks of trespassing.[1] Exploring these two historical moments, this chapter will note key changes in the conceptual framework of the field of Armenian architecture and sculpture since the early twentieth century. Why does the visual culture of the Caucasus, and more specifically Armenia, stand outside the traditional contours of medieval art history? The conclusion will consider how an alternate narrative integrating Armenia might look and what problems hold back its writing.

The Shifting Lens: Armenian Architecture in 1918 and the Present

Josef Strzygowski is known to many medievalists, but he is of particular importance to the field of Armenian architecture.[2] Prior to his interest in the Caucasus, Stryzgowski, the Chair of Vienna's Kunsthistorisches Institut, had produced seminal works on regions east of the Mediterranean, including Central Asia, Coptic Egypt, and Syria.[3] In the summer of 1913, the architect T'oros T'oramanyan approached him with a corpus of photographic materials

and plans of Armenian churches. With grants from the Austrian Ministry of Culture and Instruction and the Kunsthistorisches Institut of Vienna, the pair undertook a study trip to Armenia. Together with a philologist, ethnologist, and then graduate student Heinrich Glück, they traveled by horse and cart to document and photograph over 70 monuments, accumulating the data for what became Strzygowski's foundational work, *Die Baukunst der Armenier und Europa* (The Architecture of the Armenians and of Europe), published in 1918 (hereafter *Die Baukunst*). The author's diary of the journal appears in the introduction:

> October 1: We used the early morning to examine the particular features [of the church of Tekor] and then traveled uphill to Agrak. On the way, there was a sudden change in the weather, with clouds and rainstorms, to which we were especially sensitive after all the heat and sunny skies. Struggling with the weather, we photographed the [church] … explored the village, and traveled farther to Zpni, Nakhchevan, and, on a difficult route with continuous rainstorms, to Bagaran. We arrived at seven in the evening and there remained enough light to view … the Cathedral, and refresh ourselves with sweet grapes while taking in the wild and beautiful valley of the Arpatschai.[4]

Written only two years before the Armenian Genocide, this journal offers a window into the life of some early twentieth-century Armenians, whether gathered at elaborate village dinners or intellectual salons in Tblisi. For our purposes, the expedition is most significant for its itinerary. The route, recorded in *Die Baukunst*, is virtually unthinkable today: traveling within the borders of what was then Russia, Strzygowski and his colleagues zig-zagged between the churches of Bagaran, Argina, and Marmashen, from Irind and Ereruk to the city of Ani (Figure 4.1). This is not to say that their trip was without obstacles. The team was required to obtain permits for both visits and photography, which apparently delayed their expedition by two days. They received assistance from the Austro-Hungarian and German consulates. The group arrived in Alexandropol (Gyumri) on 14 September 1913. Only seven years later, with the taking of Kars and Alexandropol, the Turkish border shifted eastward, an event whose historical significance has been explored by Richard Hovannisian and others.[5]

The geo-political reality of 1918 also exerted a profound impact on the study of medieval architecture. The post-Ottoman political map of the Caucasus transformed the landscape of the field both physically and metaphorically, hobbling comparative study. For example, the Kamsarakan nobility had constructed a cluster of churches in their ancestral domains of Shirak. Now divided along the borders between Turkey and Armenia, these structures are extremely difficult to consider as a group.

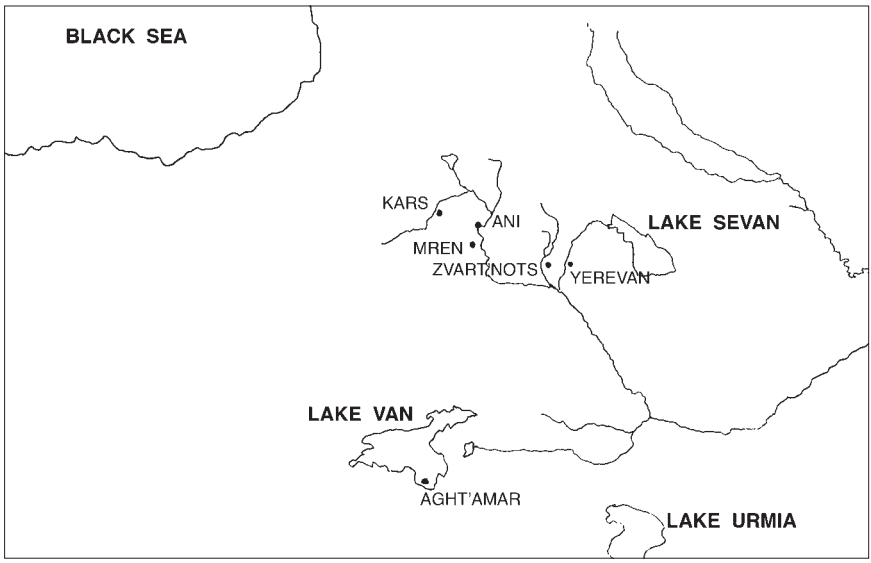


Figure 4.1. Map of Armenia (drawing: Brandon E. Johnson).

Such constraints are not unique to the Armenian-Turkish border; nor is the problem specific to the Caucasus. Yet undertaking fieldwork on Armenian sites in eastern Turkey presents particularly severe challenges. For our purposes, it is important to note that limitations of access have led to a distinct pattern in the scholarly literature. The majority of published monuments are located within what is now the independent Armenian republic. The church of Zuart'nots', the cathedral of Etchmiadzin, and the monasteries of Geghard, Sanahin, and Haghpat have all received close scrutiny in monographic works.[6] Armenian scholars have also undertaken the study of "regional" architectural traditions: publications on Agulis, Sisian, Nakhchevan, and Lori have been undertaken, typically by scholars working within the republic of Armenia.[7] By contrast, several key monuments on the Turkish side still await serious attention.

In quantifying this phenomenon, it is instructive to consider one of the best-known Western-language journals on Armenian monuments, the *Documenti di architettura armena* [Documents of Armenian Architecture] published from the 1960s to the present. Of its 22 issues, 14 feature sites located in present-day Armenia, while only two [vols. 8 (1974) and 12 (1984)] are devoted to monuments in Turkey—Aght'amar and Ani. A bibliography on Armenian architecture in Eastern and Western languages, compiled in 1998 and published in 2001, shows the number of published Turkish sites slightly higher than the ratio presented by the *Documenti*,[8] but the numbers reflect a cluster of studies devoted to the church of Aght'amar. This site, and to a

lesser extent Ani, have dominated the attention of specialists, medievalists, and the general public. Aght'amar, moreover, is the only Armenian church to be included in a general art history survey. Marilyn Stokstad's *Art History* (2002) devoted an entire paragraph to the structure; this edition was revised in 2003, however, and the relevant text was cut. The focus on Aght'amar is puzzling and raises questions about how and why monuments are chosen as typical or representative of a tradition.

Methodology

In addition to this geo-political shift, methodological approaches also refocused in the years after *Die Baukunst*. Strzygowski's work was not only the first substantial Western publication on Armenian architecture and sculpture; it remains the most comprehensive treatment of the subject. Divided into four books, the first text presents a catalogue of over 85 monuments, including illustrations on almost every page, detailed physical descriptions, and thorough discussions of primary and secondary sources. The subsequent three volumes address the history of Armenia from pre-Christianity to the late Middle Ages and consider sculpture, painting, inscriptions, liturgy, and theology. Essays on topics such as iconoclasm, non-representational art, patronage, and, interestingly, "the viewer" also appear.

Like some of his colleagues, Strzygowski applied the methodology of contemporary linguistics, identifying root forms and surveying their dissemination over broad swaths of time and terrain. He viewed Armenian art next to traditions as diverse as the Turfan cave complexes and Carolingian churches. Yet *Die Baukunst* was more bellicose than most texts, pitting monument against monument in a grand struggle for supremacy. In brief, Strzygowski argued that the basilican form functioned as a tool of a supranational ecclesiastical force, seeking to corrupt Aryan culture, which found architectural representation in the dome on a square bay. The latter, in Strzygowski's view, prevailed, advancing westward from Armenia to Byzantium and Europe.

The shrill tones and ideological underpinnings of *Die Baukunst* are easy to identify, with direct parallels in contemporary Pan-German rhetoric of World War I.[9] More problematic is assessing the value of the work for contemporary scholars. In so doing, a survey of scholarship written since Strzygowski reveals distinct shifts in approach. In Europe, the United States, and Armenia, scholars concentrated mainly on monographic works; regional studies, and documentary efforts comprise the majority of publications, generating precise and comprehensive records. The *Documenti di architettura armena*, for example, is known not for its slender essays, but rather for its large-scale photographs and meticulous drawings.

Publications of Armenian sites in Turkey also focus on documentation. The team of Jean-Michel and Nicole Thierry produced over 60 titles on medieval Armenian monuments, contributing significantly to what is known about the field. Beginning in the mid-twentieth century, they published monuments in eastern Turkey that were previously little known or completely unknown, including a vast number of sites in the regions of Vaspurakan, Kars, and Ani.[10] The results were a series of articles in key archaeological journals, book-length monographs, and most recently a handlist of the surviving Armenian monastic complexes in Turkey.[11]

While Nicole Thierry's work has focused on the sculptural and painted programs of the churches, Jean-Michel Thierry concentrated on their architectural aspects. The format of his work is fairly uniform: after introducing the history of the region, he describes the monument in detail, with a discussion of inscriptions, if extant. An architectural analysis follows, in which the building is categorized according to its type—the cathedral at Kars, for example, is discussed in terms of the development of the tetraconch, or four-lobed plan, in Armenian architecture.[12]

Other scholars have also improved our knowledge of Armenian sites in Turkey. Among them, Robert Edwards has documented numerous medieval Armenian fortifications, including those in Cilicia.[13] His work has provided the first foundations for the serious study of Armenian fortification architecture in a Western language. Edwards argues for a typology of Armenian fortification architecture based on an "Armenian paradigm" of fortification, which he identifies by the presence of one or more of the "21 features of Armenian fortification architecture." In Edwards view, these features allowed him to identify not only Armenian fortifications but also the participation of Armenian workmen in the construction of Byzantine fortresses and, by identifying the Armenian forts in the area, to mark the border between Armenia and Georgia in the marchlands of Tayk' in northeastern Turkey.

The most ambitious of such documentation projects, however, is the microfiche collection entitled *Armenian Architecture*. Directed by Vazken Parsegian, and edited and written by Krikor Maksoudian and Lucy Der Manuelian, it includes thousands of photographs, descriptive and historical summaries, and bibliography for monuments in all areas of what was medieval Armenia. One must mention the efforts of Richard and Anne Elbrecht, who, often at great risk, travel to Turkey to document and photograph Armenian architecture. Publishing and exhibiting their findings, often in conjunction with Richard Hovannisian's conferences at UCLA, they have brought to light numerous obscure monuments. In light of the uncertain welfare of churches in eastern Turkey, such efforts serve a critical purpose, and preservation is certainly one of the most urgent tasks, whether undertaken through physical intervention or documentary report.

Yet documentation is only the first step in building a history of medieval Armenian architecture. Critical interpretation must follow, including an exploration of how and why the monuments have been built. Understanding historical, social and economic forces and relations with neighboring traditions, as well as structure, architectural decoration, all remain to be fully explored. These lines of inquiry would go far in alerting broader academic audiences to the significance of the field, something that documentation alone cannot achieve.

It may be that the inward-looking character of post-Strzygowski scholarship on Armenian architecture and the turn away from broader study is a reaction against the notorious Vienna School art historian. In the wake of *Die Baukunst*, questions of Armenia's position within the broader frame of medieval art were ignored, or, as in the case of the *Documenti di architettura armena*, pronounced "resolved." This almost audible hush was interrupted only occasionally by historiographers and those who accepted Strzygowskian theories wholesale. Others have sought to salvage archaeological data and leave the diatribes behind—a practice troubled by its own ideological issues.[14] Any broad treatment of medieval Armenia, it appears, is irrevocably tied up with the politics and personality of Strzygowski, a notorious racist who looked to the East to find the roots of Aryan culture. Surveying the scholarship, one senses a certain fear: perhaps of being perceived as an ideologue, ostracized, or even ejected from the academy altogether, as Strzygowski himself felt he was.[15] Throughout his work, Strzygowski often wielded his position outside the circle of his "classical humanist" colleagues as a rhetorical tool, effectively likening himself to the cultures he wished to champion.[16]

The refusal to address *Die Baukunst* has led to serious repercussions in the discipline. Aversion to Stryzgowski's theories has contributed not only to the insularity of specialist scholarship, but also to the treatment of Armenian art in general studies. Richard Krautheimer's *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture* devotes only a short section to the cultures of the Caucasus. Yet, instead of a critical analysis of the material, a full third of the pages are taken up with denouncing Strzygowski's theories.[17] Illustrating the broader repercussions of Strzygowski's work, Krautheimer's chapter concludes with the following sentence: "Of all the border countries of the empire, Armenia is the only one to deal with Byzantine architecture on an equal footing. But the differences between Byzantine and Armenian building—in design, construction, scale and decoration—cannot be too strongly stressed."[18]

At first reading, this comment may seem innocuous, appearing to applaud Armenian architecture for its quality while distinguishing it from the imperial tradition. After including Armenia within the text, the author ultimately seems to imply that it belongs elsewhere. Thus the paradigm of imperial capital and province seems to hold sway not only as a political model of the medieval Mediterranean, but as a measuring stick for inclusion within the

art-historical canon.[19] The impact of Strzygowski can be felt in other ways in Krautheimer's chapter. For example, Strzygowski's early isolation of medieval Armenian culture from other Transcaucasian traditions departed from nineteenth-century studies of the region. This division has cultivated a largely discrete treatment of the subject. Architectural history generally interprets the Caucasus in Armenian terms: the main text of Krautheimer's chapter, for example, entitled "Armenia and Georgia," actually makes no reference to Georgian monuments.[20]

The Seventh-Century Frontier

We may make a case for Armenia's inclusion within the broader framework of medieval architecture with the help of a monument featured in both Krautheimer and Strzygowski: the church of Mren (ca. 638–641). To Krautheimer, the church represented a post-Justinianic tradition in the hinterlands, to Strzygowski, it preserved vestiges of Indo-European culture. Mren may aid in the construction of alternate and more inclusive narratives of medieval art.

Mren rises from an open plain in what is now northeast Turkey (Figure 4.1).[21] Exterior walls mark out the length of a large basilica, from which a central dome rises on four piers. Although the roof has collapsed, it probably once bore the conical profile so typical of seventh-century monuments in the Transcaucasus. Rubble masonry walls of pink and grey animate the exterior, as does a series of sculpted windows, doors, and a long inscription on the west façade:

> [In the 29]th year of the victorious king Heraclius, in the office of Prince [Dawit'] the all-praiseworthy patrik, kouropalate, and sparapet [of Armenia] and Syria and in the office of bishop [T'e]ovp'ighos and in the office of tanutēr Nersēh lord of [Shira]k and Asharunik', this holy church was built [for the intercession] of the Kamsarakank' and Mren and all [---].[22]

This suggests that the church was finished in the late 630s or early 640s. Construction must have taken place after 629, when Byzantine armies had recaptured the area. Also appropriate to this timeframe is Heraclius' epithet: "victorious." The title was used frequently after his successful negotiations with the Persians in the 620s and the restoration of the True Cross in Jerusalem in 631.

Dense with names, titles, and regnal years, the text records the foundation of the church, recounts its date and purpose, and identifies a series of individuals. The dating system at Mren also conveys a network of relationships between Heraclius, Dawit' Saharuni, the Kamsarakan bishop, and the local lord, each of whom had a stake in cultivating the other's allegiances. The text, moreover,

creates a synchronism, locating a series of political figures within the same moment in time: Heraclius (ca. 610–641), Dawit' (*kouropalate* between 638 and 641), and Nersēs, named in a nearby church inscription of 636/637, and his bishop.[23] Yet the use of the synchronism begs the question: whose reign holds the prime authority? Or, precisely whose time was it? By invoking a series of temporal domains, the text allows for diverse responses to this question.

Although published by Strzygowski, this inscription has received limited attention outside the field of Armenian epigraphy and history. Yet the flexible quality of the text is especially noteworthy and would have served a critical function on the seventh-century frontier. During the first half of the century, Armenia became a militarized zone, the theater for conflicts between Byzantine and Persian forces and an early target of the Arab invasions. At the epicenter, the Armenian nobility engaged in a breathless series of diplomatic dances. Brokering deals and switching sides became something of a national pastime.

The contemporary chronicle attributed to Sebeos reveals the precariousness of the situation: Dawit' Saharuni, mentioned in the inscription, served as prince of Armenia for only three years before he was ousted by his compatriots and the Byzantine troops.[24] The latter, as Walter Kaegi has shown, were often aggressive. Mutiny occurred throughout the sixth and seventh centuries in the East, triggered by lack of pay, hostility toward the commanding general or the emperor, and losses to the enemy.[25] Churches such as Mren gave audience to shifting and sometimes violent groups of diverse political, religious, ethnic, and linguistic backgrounds. The use of the synchronism at Mren may thus be viewed as an adroit response to a central problem of the frontier. The same environment also stimulated visual culture, necessitating a sophisticated and sometimes ambiguous imagery.[26]

Despite their limited representation in traditional surveys, structures such as Mren offer a critical contribution to our understanding of early medieval art. Not only do the Armenian monuments highlight the role of visual and verbal strategies in an era of military conflict, but they also emerge, in great variety and number, during a period for which few dated monuments survive in Byzantium or in continental Europe.[27] One might thus fruitfully devote a chapter in a medieval art textbook to the seventh-century Caucasus, considering the political realities of the era, the complexity of the works, and the relative abundance of archaeological data. This move would certainly undermine the notion that medieval culture emanated from fixed centers of gravity.

Yet the insertion of seventh-century Armenian art into a broader frame still ignores a central problem: the fundamental divide between the construction of medieval Armenian self-identity, as expressed in literary texts, buildings, imagery, and inscriptions, and the marginalization of the region by historians of medieval art.[28] Returning to the seventh century, it is worth repeating that

the area was fixed firmly at the center of confrontation among superpowers. No stable relationships oriented the Caucasus toward one or another empire; alliances formed and reformed, and loyalties bounced back and forth. This intermediary position, held among various neighbors during much of the ancient, medieval, and early modern periods, challenges any binary idea of periphery or border. If Armenia stands between empires, exactly to whose borders or periphery does it belong?

It is not so audacious to regard Armenia itself as a kind of diplomatic and cultural center that produced, by its very location, a verbal and visual language characterized by flexibility and ambiguity. Yet perhaps "center" is not quite the correct word, at least regarding the political structure of the early medieval Transcaucasus. During the fourth to ninth centuries, Armenia was ruled not by a single king but by a constellation of princely houses, each governing its own domain, raising cavalry, electing bishops, and uniting only at strategic moments. As Nina Garsoïan has shown, the terrain of early medieval Armenia was largely rural and aristocratic; nobles lived on estates rather than in cities, for which we have less archaeological evidence.[29] The assertion of localized power in this rural atmosphere is made clear in contemporary literary and epigraphic texts. Seventh-century inscriptions like that at Mren stress noble titles, geographical jurisdictions, and often name other clan members.

The simultaneous emergence of the centralized, domed church in Armenia further reiterates princely power. Radiating plans, such as that of Sisian, fitted with apsidal niches, raised cylindrical drums, and tall conical roofs, created points of noble authority. The church of Mren presents this idea most eloquently. The lofty height of the building in comparison to its breadth creates an emphatic vertical punctuating the flat stretches of surrounding plain.[30] The elevated cross arms, intersecting at the tall drum and dome, also underscore the centeredness of the architecture. Intersection and centrality are particularly apt visual metaphors for a building that represents the interaction of imperial, princely, and local spheres. Such themes, moreover, may be detected in the structure of the inscription. Opening with the reign date of Heraclius, the text starts expansively, and then proceeds to increasingly smaller spheres of authority, from prince, to bishop, to the local lord. In the closing of the inscription, the circles grow larger again, as the text pleads intercession for the Kamsarakan family, the town of Mren, and for "all the [---]." Both verbally and structurally, Mren seems planted at the center of the world: a kind of nexus of negotiation.

In conclusion, the frontier seems to have cultivated not only a complex diplomatic culture but also the assertion of local authority. One historian has likened the position of medieval Armenia to Janus, the Roman god of gateways who gazes in two directions at once.[31] Another emblem might be found in a thirteenth-century manuscript from Armenian Cilicia (Erevan, Matenadaran MS 979, f. 293) in which a trifrons bearded face seems to look both sideways

and outwards. In the same way, Armenia was not simply a transit route or battlefield but rather a place in its own right. It is perhaps no accident that this very manuscript contains some of the most visually stunning evidence for cross-cultural contact, with its Chinese-looking lions nestled within the vine scrolls of its headpiece.[32]

In one sense, such images might appear easy to work with, as one identifies and assigns sources to one culture or another. Yet, this process at times terminates discussion where it ought to begin.[33] Exploring the specific circumstances of contact and the precise nature of appropriation would allow for a very different history of medieval art. Regarding Armenia, arenas of cultural confrontation could constitute a particularly lively narrative, and include a range of visual traditions from Europe to Yuan-dynasty China.[34]

One might also fruitfully integrate Armenia into thematic discussions of medieval art. For example, the rich exterior portal sculpture and epigraphy that emerges in the seventh century raises a host of questions regarding word/image relations, public writing, audience, and performance. Current discourse on Romanesque and Gothic sculpture typically ignores the Armenian tradition, perhaps out of unfamiliarity or, more likely, out of a certain anxiety regarding the initial architect of the comparison. Strzygowski may have died more than 70 years ago, but his ghost still haunts many corners of the field.

Precisely if and how one might exorcise Strzygowski's ghost is a matter of contention. Any attempt to integrate Armenia into larger discussions should be partnered with historiographical self-consciousness. Reworking and broadening the history of medieval art is today as it was in early twentieth-century Vienna, bound up with issues of academic prestige, xenophobia, and territorialism. As with any border crossing, introducing Armenology to a larger discursive sphere seems to require the proper documentation, the appropriate language, and correct protocol. On this point perhaps the church of Mren might have something to teach us, with its complex and polyvalent messages, designed for multiple, often violent audiences. It is a pity that Strzygowski did not notice this, authoring instead a racialized battle between the dome and the basilica through the lens of World War I. The Armenian monuments show how the practice of diplomacy can cultivate rather than constrain culture, generating new forms of discourse in an environment of conflict—perhaps a useful lesson not only for navigating the volatile terrain of the Eastern frontier, but also that of the art-historical canon.

Acknowledgments

The methodological approach of this chapter was initially formed during doctoral work on Josef Strzygowski and Armenian architecture, supervised by Professor Ćurčić in the 1990s at Princeton, where I was fortunate to learn

firsthand from his commitment to the history of ideas. In publications, symposia, seminars, and informal discussions, he fostered in me a curiosity for studying the political conditions, attitudes, and patterns of thought that shape scholarship. At that time, the study of the historiography of medieval art was not as robust as it is at present, and the dislikeable figure of Strzygowski had not yet been subject to close critical analysis. I offer Professor Ćurčić the greatest thanks for encouraging me to pursue such a topic.

Notes

1 My considerations here of the relationship between geohistory and art draw from the lively discussions on the subject since 2005. See T. D. Kaufmann, *Toward a Geography of Art* (Chicago, 2004); T. D. Kaufmann and E. Pelliod, eds, *Time and Place: The Geohistory of Art* (London, 2005); and I. Rogoff, *Terra Infirma: Geography's Visual Culture* (London, 2000).

2 A selection of Strzygowski studies includes E. Frödl-Kraft, "Eine Aporie und der Versuch ihrer Deutung Josef Stryzgowski-Julius von Schlosser," *WJKg* 42 (1989): 7–51; S. L. Marchand, "The Rhetoric of Artifacts and the Decline of Classical Humanism: The Case of Josef Strzygowski," *History and Theory* 33 (1994): 106–30. See also my *Medieval Armenian Architecture: Constructions of Race and Nation* (Leuven-la-Neuve, 2001), and most recently my "Basilicas and Black Holes: The Legacy of Josef Strzygowski and the Case of Armenian Architecture," *Acta Historiae Artium* 47 (2006): 313–20.

3 J. Strzygowski, *L'ancien arte chrétien de Syrie* (Paris, 1936); idem, *Koptische Kunst* (Vienna, 1904); idem, *The Afghan Stuccoes of the N. R. F. Collection* (New York, 1932).

4 J. Strzygowski, *Die Baukunst der Armenier und Europa* (Vienna, 1918), 22–3.

5 See, among many others, Richard Hovannisian's vast study of the era: *The Republic of Armenia* (Berkeley, 1971), 4 vols.

6 For example, see *Sanahin, Documenti di Architettura Armena* (Milan and Venice, 1970), 3.

7 See for example A. Ayvazyan, *Agulis* (Erevan, 1984).

8 See Maranci, *Medieval Armenian Architecture*.

9 See Marchand, "The Rhetoric of Artifacts"; M. Olin, "Alois Riegl: The Late Roman Empire in the Late Hapsburg Empire," in *The Hapsburg Legacy: National Identity in Historical Perspective*, ed. R. Robertson and E. Timms (Edinburgh, 1994), 107–20; and my "The Historiography of Armenian Architecture: Josef Strzygowski, Austria, and Armenia," *REArm* 28 (2001–2002): 287–308.

10 J.-M. Thierry, "Monastères des Vaspurakan," *REArm* (vols. 4–12, 1967–1977) and, together with N. Thierry, "La Cathédrale de Mren et sa décoration," *CahArch* 21 (1971): 43–77.

11 J.-M. Thierry, *La Cathédrale de Saint-Apôtres de Kars, 930–943* (Paris, 1978); J.-M. and N. Thierry, *L'église Saint Grégoire de Tigran Honenc' à Ani (1215)* (Louvain and Paris, 1993); J.-M. Thierry, *Répertoire des Monastères Arméniens* (Turnhout, 1993).

12 J.-M. Thierry, *La Cathédrale de Saint-Apôtres de Kars*, 13ff; idem, "Les tetraconques à niches d'angle," *Bazmavep* (1980): 124–80.

13 See R. W. Edwards, *The Fortifications of Armenian Cilicia*, DOS 23 (Washington, D.C., 1987); idem, "Ecclesiastical Architecture in the Fortifications of Armenian Cilicia," *DOP* 36 (1982): 155–76; idem, "Ecclesiastical Architecture in the Fortifications of Armenian Cilicia; A Second Report," *DOP* 37 (1983): 123–46; idem, "Medieval Architecture in the Oltu-Penek Valley: A Preliminary Report on the Marchlands of Northeast Turkey," *DOP* 39 (1985): 15–38; idem, "The Fortifications of Artvin: A Second Preliminary Report on the Marchlands of Northeast Turkey," *DOP* 40 (1986): 165–82; and idem, "The Vale of Kola: A Final Preliminary Report on the Marchlands of Northeast Turkey," *DOP* 42 (1988): 119–42.

14 I thank Margaret Olin for drawing my attention to this practice.

15 On the antagonism between Strzygowski and his colleagues, see Marchand, "The Rhetoric of Artifacts"; Olin, "Alois Riegl: The Late Roman Empire"; and M. Bernabò, "Un episodio della demonizzazione dell'arte bizantina in Italia: La campagna contro Strzygowski, Toesca e Lionello Venturi sulla stampa fascista nel 1930," *BZ* 94 (2001): 1–10.

16 See for example, J. Strzygowski, *Spuren Indogermanischen Glaubens in der Bildende Kunst* (Heidelberg, 1936), 2, 379.

17 Krautheimer, *ECBA*, 321–30.

18 Krautheimer, *ECBA*, 330.

19 Questions of center and periphery have held an important place in scholarly discussion for over a century now, if one begins with the *Orient oder Rom* debate of the turn of the twentieth century. Among the most recent discussions, and supplemented with bibliography, is A. Eastmond, "Art and the Periphery," in *Oxford Handbook of Byzantine Studies*, ed. E. Jeffreys (Oxford, 2008), 770–76. Regarding the problem of Armenian art in particular, see my "Locating Armenia," a special issue of *Medieval Encounters*, forthcoming.

20 Very limited discussion appears in the footnotes, Krautheimer, *ECBA*, 500–1.

21 Major modern studies of the church include S. Mnatsak'anyan, "When was the Church of Mren Constructed?" *Journal of History and Philology* 46/3 (1969): 149–64 (in Armenian); and J.-M. and N. Thierry, "Notes sur des monuments arméniens en Turquie," *REArm* 2 (1965): 161–73 and "La cathédrale de Mren et sa décoration," *CahArch* 21 (1971): 43–77. See my "Building Churches in Armenia: Art at the Borders of Empire and the Edge of the Canon," *ArtB* 88 (2006): 656–75.

22 English translation after T. Greenwood, "A Corpus of Early Armenian Inscriptions," *DOP* 58 (2004): 83, with one exception: the last surviving letters have generally been transcribed as *AMEN* ("all"). Greenwood, in contrast, reads the last three letters as S-E-R, and thus ASER. I know of no such a word or prefix in classical Armenian. Moreover, Greenwood himself refers to the last word as "all" elsewhere in his text (on 55 and 66).

23 See Greenwood, "A Corpus," 81–2.

24 See *The Armenian History attributed to Sebeos*, trans. and comm. R. W. Thomson, with J. Howard-Johnston and T. Greenwood (Liverpool, 1999), 94.

25 W. Kaegi, *Byzantine Military Unrest* (Amsterdam and Las Palmas, 1981), esp. 137; and idem, *Byzantium and the Early Islamic Conquests* (Cambridge, 1992).

26 See Maranci, "Building Churches"; and eadem, "The Performative Monument: Ritual and Church Exterior in Early Medieval Armenia," in *Visualizing Medieval*

Performance: Perspectives, Histories, Contexts, ed. E. Gertsman (London, 2008), 17–32.

27 The scarcity of seventh-century Byzantine architecture has long been observed, although recent archaeological discoveries begin to suggest more activity during this era. See R. Ousterhout, "The Architecture of Iconoclasm," in *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era (ca 680–850): The Sources*, ed. L. Brubaker and J. Haldon (Aldershot, 2001), 3–36. Yet it remains significant that of the 26 buildings catalogued by Ousterhout, none is conclusively dated to the seventh century, and only three have been tentatively assigned to that era.

28 This disjuncture is not uncommon. Recent studies in Chinese painting, for example, critique the divide between contemporary historiography and established art-historical categories. See J. Purtle, "Placing Chinese Painting History: The Cultural Production of the Geohistory of Painting Practice in China," *Time and Place: The Geohistory of Art*, ed. T. D. Kaufmann and E. Pilliod (London, 2005).

29 N. G. Garsoïan, "The Early-Mediaeval Armenian City: An Alien Element?" *Church and Culture in Early Mediaeval Armenia* (London, 1999), 7: 67–83.

30 On this subject, a much closer contextualization of the Armenian monuments within the landscape is an important desideratum for the field. Why, for instance, are so many of the seventh-century structures situated on plains? What was their relation to the pre-Christian (e.g., eneolithic, neolithic, Bronze Age, Urartean, and Arsacid) sites in their vicinity? For locations of the major sites, see R. Hewsen, *Armenia. A Historical Atlas* (Chicago and London, 2004). These kinds of questions have recently been fruitfully explored by L. Khatchadourian: "Unforgettable Landscapes: Attachments to the Past in Hellenistic Armenia," in *Negotiating the Past in the Past: Identity, Memory, and Landscape in Archaeological Research*, ed. N. Yoffee (Tucson, 2007). For a recent study of landscape and church architecture in Cappadocia, see V. Kalas, "Challenging the Sacred Landscape of Byzantine Cappadocia," in *Sacred Landscapes in Anatolia and its Neighboring Regions* (Oxford, forthcoming). See also W. Ashmore and A. Bernard Knapp, eds, *Archaeologies of Landscape* (Oxford, 1999); and E. Hirsch and M. O'Hanlon, eds, *The Anthropology of Landscape: Perspectives on Space and Place* (Oxford, 1995).

31 N. G. Garsoïan, "Janus: The Formation of the Armenian Church from the IVth to the VII Century," in *The Formation of a Millennial Tradition: 1700 Years of Armenian Christian Witness* (Rome, 2000), 79–95.

32 See D. Kouymjian, "Chinese Elements in Armenian Miniature Painting in the Mongol Period," in *Armenian Studies/Études arméniennes: in memoriam Haig Berbérian*, ed. D. Kouymjian (Lisbon, 1986), 415–68.

33 Aght'amar presents an important exception to this critique. See L. Jones, *Between Islam and Byzantium: Aght'amar and the Visual Construction of Medieval Armenian Rulership* (London, 2007).

34 Unlike the study of Armenian architecture and sculpture, scholarship on manuscript illumination has for decades formed fertile ground for exploring questions of cross-cultural exchange. Following the Western-language publications of Sirarpie Der Nersessian (1896–1989) came a flood of scholarship on Armenian manuscript art. See, for example, the essays in *Treasures in Heaven: Armenian Illuminated Manuscripts*, eds. T. F. Mathews and R. S. Wieck (Princeton, 1994), which explore questions of cultural contact with the traditions of Sasanian, Byzantine, Mongol, and Crusader art, among others.

PART II
The Fabrics of Buildings

5

Change in Byzantine Architecture

Marina Mihaljević

We are accustomed to viewing architecture in two successive stages, planning and execution, which define the domain of two separate professions, architects and builders. The communication of visual ideas between these two parties relies on and is carried out through the medium of architectural drawing, which not only allows for a projection of imagined buildings but also provides the principal device for creating architectural forms. As described by professionals, the reconciliation of the two three-dimensional variable components—interior and exterior—depends on continuous mutual assessment through the medium of an architectural drawing.

We have no evidence of what we would today call an "architect" after the Transitional period (late seventh–early ninth centuries), nor was there any kind of blueprint in Byzantine architecture. Thus Robert Ousterhout has described these two procedures, planning and execution, as being simultaneous.[1] This concept is valid for many Byzantine buildings, yet, as Ousterhout admits, other approaches to design are possible.[2] It is worth pondering whether Byzantine buildings provide evidence that would indicate to the modern viewer the creative side of Byzantine architectural practice, notwithstanding the indisputable absence of distinction between the two professions—architect and a builder—in the written record, the latter denoted in the Middle Ages by a single term *oikodomos*, or later *protomaistor*.[3]

Provincial architecture has rarely been taken into account when considering the creation and change of architectural ideas in Byzantine architecture. This chapter will follow the traces of Byzantine architecture in the provinces during the Komnenian period, focusing on the architectural practices in the wider geographic area of Constantinopolitan influence to detect the modes of operation of Byzantine builders and possibly translate them into modern terms to expand our understanding of the architecture. We shall differentiate between elite and standard building practice, which in turn, may lead

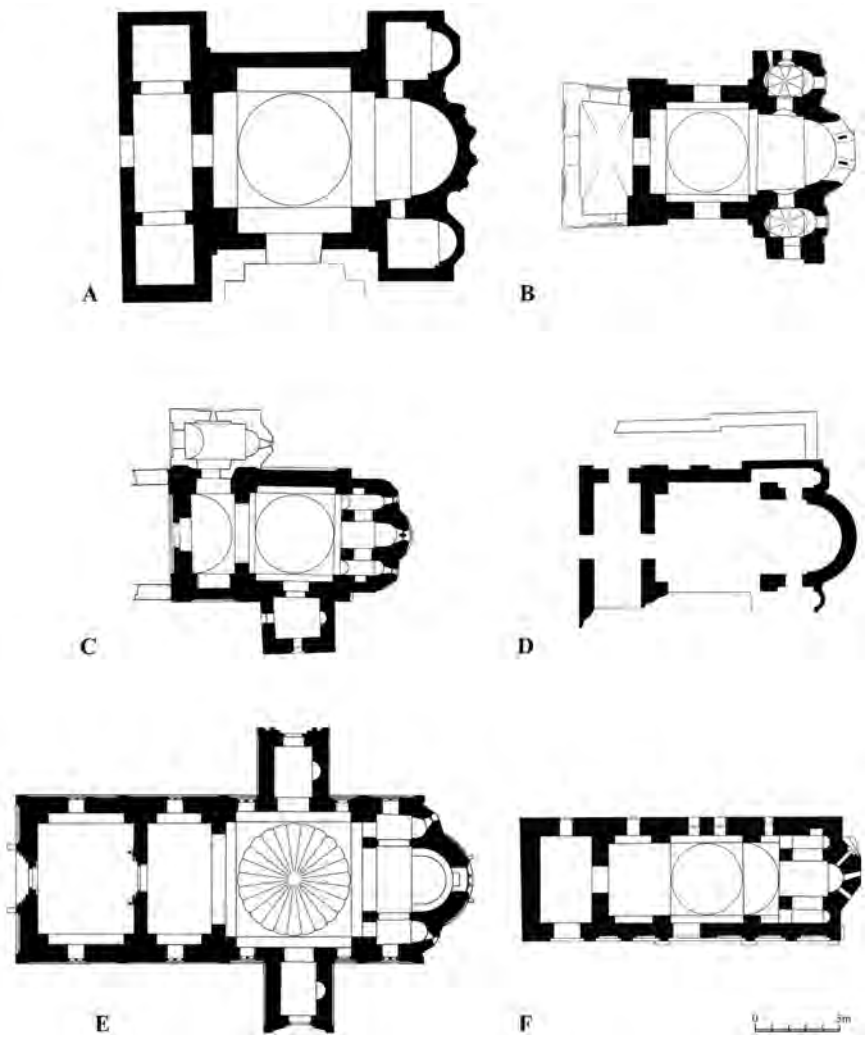


Figure 5.1 Comparative plans of atrophied Greek-cross churches (drawing: author): A. Istanbul, Christ in Chora, hypothetical plan of the twelfth-century *katholikon* (after R. Ousterhout); B. Kurşunlu, St. Aberkios (after V. Sedov); C. Kuršumlija, Sv. Nikola (after M. Čanak-Medić); D. Yuşa Tepesi (after S. Eyice); E. Studenica, Church of the Virgin (after V. Korać); F. Asenova Krepost, Church of the Virgin Petrichka (after K. Miiatev).

us toward a multifaceted view of the nature of change and expressions of creativity in Byzantine architecture.

Constantinople: An Architectural Reinvention

In the course of the twelfth century several ecclesiastical buildings of the so-called atrophied Greek-cross type were built in various parts of the Byzantine Empire.[4] They include the church at Yuşa Tepesi located on the eastern shore of Bosporus; the church of St. Aberkios in Kurşunlu, Bithynia; the church of St. Nikola in Kuršumlija, Serbia; and several other churches in the central Balkans (Figure 5.1). The archetype for these buildings was surely the famous Constantinopolitan church of Christ in Chora (Kariye Camii), rebuilt most probably between 1120 and 1122 by Sebastokrator Isaak Komnenos (Figure 5.1A).[5] The remains of Isaak Komnenos's church in Chora are incorporated into the present building on the site.[6] The preceding church foundation in Chora was presumably built by Maria Doukaina some 40 years prior to Isaak Komnenos's church.[7] It was most likely a cross-in-square building with the same width as the naos of the present church.[8] Its interior supports carried a dome, ca. 4.5 m in diameter, considerably smaller than the current one. Due to the major earthquake damage, the eastern part of the church was completely destroyed.[9] Instead of the old centrally placed supports to the dome on the old plan, the four square piers were situated in the corners of the naos, allowing for the erection of a new, larger dome almost 7.5 m wide. This design, possibly a reintroduction of an earlier model, provided the interior with the remarkable impression of monumentality—a characteristic that was most likely missing in the earlier cross-in-square church.[10]

Constantinopolitan Builders in the Provinces

The design established in Isaak Komnenos's church in Chora proved to be very influential, and it was frequently repeated in various scales and in diverse locations. The widespread use of the church plan reminds us of the relative standardization of architectural models exported to the provinces. It is interesting to examine the manner in which these models were created and further interpreted. Here we shall examine two churches with the same plan and similar dimensions built almost at the same time in two provinces far from each other, Serbia and Bithynia. These two examples can assist in determining both the idea of standardization and the nature of change and the development of ideas in Byzantine architecture.

The church of St. Nikola in Kuršumlija in Serbia is believed to have been erected around 1065 by Serbian *Grand Zupan* Nemanja (Figure 5.2). In its present state, the complex includes the main church with the narthex, the added exonarthex, and a later northern parekklesion, dated to the reign of Serbian king Stefan Uroš II Milutin (1282–1321).[11] The evidence from primary sources does not clarify whether the church and the narthex, or only the added exonarthex with two flanking towers, should be attributed to Nemanja's patronage.[12] Nevertheless, the characteristics of the church's architecture reveal the direct engagement of a Constantinopolitan workshop in its construction. Its naos is a square unit surmounted by a dome measuring 4.6–4.7 m in diameter carried by four corner piers (Figure 5.1C). The walls and vaults of the church are executed in the so-called recessed-brick technique, a feature characteristic of Constantinopolitan architecture of the Komnenian era.[13] The dome and the drum below are ribbed and fenestrated with eight windows. The exterior of the church is articulated with double-recessed niches mirroring the interior structure of the church (Figures 5.3–5.4). The rendering of the church façades and the articulation of its dome fully comply with the stylistic characteristics of Komnenian architecture in the Byzantine capital, leaving no doubt about the origins of St. Nikola's architecture.

Figure 5.2 Kuršumlija, Sv. Nikola. Exterior, from the northeast (photo: author).

Figure 5.3 Kuršumlija, Sv. Nikola. Interior of the naos, looking east (photo: author).

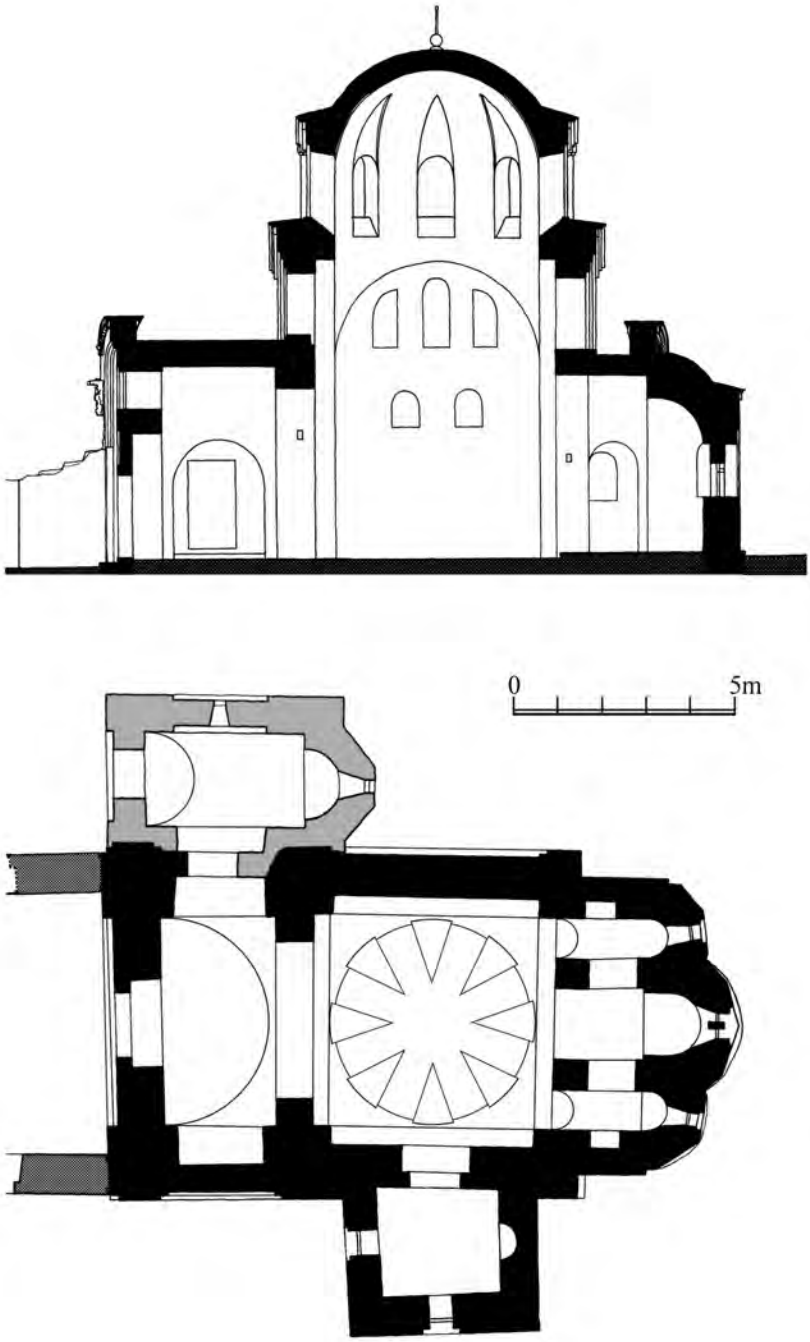


Figure 5.4 Kuršumlija, Sv. Nikola. Plan and section (author, after M. Čanak-Medić).

A second example, the church of St. Aberkios, is situated on the south bank of the Sea of Marmara in the present-day village of Kurşunlu in Bithynia.[14] The church was the *katholikon* of the twelfth-century monastery of Elegmi.[15] As we learn from the monastic *typikon*, issued in 1162, the monastery was granted to the author of the document, Nikephoros, the *mystikos* in the service of Manuel I Komnenos. Even though the *ktetor*'s account of the reconstruction works does not state the erection of the church, the architectural features of St. Aberkios clearly indicate its twelfth-century origins (Figures 5.5–5.7).[16]

The church is another example of the atrophied Greek-cross plan (Figure 5.1B). Its naos, which was once covered by a dome approximately 5 m in diameter, is almost identical to the naos of the church of St. Nikola. In its other aspects, including the interior and exterior articulation, the architecture of the church of St. Aberkios fits with contemporary Constantinopolitan practice. The lower portion of the church walls was built in the *opus mixtum* technique with alternating rows of stone ashlars and recessed-brick bands, whereas their upper parts display recessed brick only. The three-light windows in the tympana of the cross-arms stay in line with the treatment of the dome pedestals in other Komnenian churches.

The similar dimensions and the general similarity of other architectural features allow for observing both churches, St. Nikola and St. Aberkios, as Constantinopolitan model-churches developed for the provinces, yet the two churches display significantly different plans in their sanctuaries. At the church of St. Aberkios, the main apse is almost the same width as the naos of the church. The sanctuary comprises two lateral chapels flanking the main apse. As the chapels protrude beyond the exterior walls of the naos, the arrangement bears a striking similarity to the plan proposed for the naos and the sanctuary of Isaak Komnenos's church in Chora. Whereas it is possible that the church in Chora once included lateral bays situated in the continuation of the external chapel protrusions,[17] the archaeological excavations in the church of St. Aberkios uncover no lateral addition to the church.[18]

The master builder of the church of St. Nikola took an opposite approach. When planning the church, he contracted the entire space of the tripartite sanctuary to match the width of the "atrophied" naos. Thus, instead of the enclosed lateral chapels, connected by the narrow openings with the bema existent in the other two atrophied Greek-cross churches, St. Aberkios and Yuşa Tepesi (Figure 5.1D), the sanctuary of St Nikola presents more unified space. Here, the relatively wide arched openings, possibly included as a remedy to the relative narrowness of the sanctuary space, unify the bema with the pastophoria (Figure 5.1A–B). Each of the sanctuary bays was covered by a separate barrel vault.[19] As a result, a monumental altar tribelon (in fact, the projection of the three longitudinal barrel-vaulted spaces of the sanctuary) appears on the eastern side of the naos (Figure 5.4). This created the particularly meaningful design for the front sanctuary wall, which apparently was the

Figure 5.5 Kurşunlu, St. Aberkios. Exterior, from the northwest (photo: O. Dalgiç).

Figure 5.6 Kurşunlu, St. Aberkios. Conch of the main apse (photo: O. Dalgiç).

reason for its use. The arches supporting the dome are raised above the vaults that cover the narthex, which, together with the low apses, provided space for four huge tripartite windows on all four sides of the naos. The eastern window in the pedestal of the dome is a particularly unusual feature, since none of the existing Constantinopolitan churches displays a similar design.[20] It is obvious that the master builder's deliberate choice was to create an eastern window, thereby aesthetically improving the naos of the church. It resulted in a lesser height for the sanctuary, which additionally emphasized the towering central part of the church.[21]

These two churches most clearly reveal both the repetitive practice and the nature of change in Byzantine architecture. In none of its aspects does the church of St. Aberkios reveal the engagement of an architect. The builders of the church were probably experienced craftsmen familiar with the well established and—what is particularly important—small-scale plan. The building techniques and the faithfully replicated Komnenian design elements, including the double-recessed archivolts fenestrated with triple-clustered windows, exhibit the builders' familiarity with Constantinopolitan buildings. Most likely, they were either invited from or trained in the Byzantine capital. The patron was probably able to bring seasoned builders, who proceeded with the task in a predictable, conventional manner. Only by adjusting the scale does the architecture of the church depart from the archetype established by the church in Chora.

The vaulting system of the church also provides us with further insight into the professional profile and the ability of the building workshop. The conch of the main apse displays two tiers of wedge-shaped segments with pitched brick courses on its flanks and horizontal courses at its center (Figure 5.6). The building technique utilized was intended for the erection of vaulting without a formwork, although the builders usually experience difficulty in keeping the voussoirs in place as the mortar hardens.[22] The builders did not utilize the more common chevron technique, often found in the conches of the twelfth-century Constantinopolitan churches and thus certainly known to the builders. Noted for its decorative quality, the chevron pattern actually secures the pitched and overlapping voussoirs in a more effective way.

The choice of a less pretentious, if effective, technique may be a sign of the smaller workshop engaged in the construction of the church of St. Aberkios. The builders were presumably dependant on local masons who assisted in the construction of the vault. As long as the results of the construction were stable, the builders provided only basic instruction to their assistants and did not apply the more complex and intricate Constantinopolitan building techniques. This supposition cannot explain the rendering of the vaulting of the pastophoria, two tiny scalloped domes, which are otherwise a feature common to the Komnenian architecture of the Byzantine capital. Their small dimensions and the lack of drums resulted in a peculiar design with awkward

Figure 5.7 Kurşunlu, St. Aberkios. Interior of the naos, looking west (photo: author).

cavities above the pendentives at the base of the dome, a circumstance alien to the architecture of the capital.[23] The clumsiness of form cannot be explained by the participation of untrained assistants. Instead, it reveals a lack of understanding or the neglect of well-established design principles. As it appears, the builders reveal their insensitivity in matters of design when they departed from familiar models.

The builders of the church of St. Nikola chose the established plan type for the central part of the church in Kuršumlija. The plan of the sanctuary helps us draw further conclusions about the working methods of Byzantine builders and the sources of change in Byzantine architecture. We may ponder what model was used for the tripartite arrangement of the sanctuary and its frontal tribelon. The church combines a unified naos with the elaborate plan of the cross-in-square sanctuary. The openness of the atrophied naos allows an unobstructed view of the triple opening of the sanctuary that would otherwise be hidden by the arches and the corner bays of a cross-in-square structure.

With St. Nikola's sanctuary, we may recognize the interchange of design elements between different types of buildings. This was a common procedure for Byzantine builders, and it proved to be effective when searching for non-standard solutions. The form of the church of St. Nikola demonstrates the thorough planning of its overall design. Its master builder ensured that the central unit dominates the rest of the building. The raising of the naos vaults did not come as an afterthought but was carefully coordinated with the height and the form of the sanctuary. The goal was to introduce light into the central part of the building. Unlike the builders of St. Aberkios, the master mason of St. Nikola was seeking new design concepts, experimenting with and varying the prototype, which he knew from his training in Constantinople.

Builders and Apprentices: Two Examples

Not all of the atrophied Greek-cross examples in the central Balkans display the involvement of metropolitan builders. For a further exploration of the means of transmitting architectural concepts, we shall examine another atrophied Greek-cross church, that of the Virgin Petrichka, situated in the vicinity of the Bulgarian city of Asenovgrad (formerly Stanimaka). It occupies the top of the hill within the small fortress, medieval Petrich, built in the eleventh or twelfth century.[24] The church is usually considered to be a twelfth-century building.[25] The remains of the frescoes preserved in the sanctuary support this dating.[26]

The church itself is a long, narrow building measuring 18.30 x 7 m. Due to the steep terrain, it was placed over a high base, which forms a lower floor and adds to the visual prominence of the structure (Figure 5.8). The

middle bay of the church displays a variation of the atrophied Greek-cross plan (Figure 5.1F). It is covered by a dome measuring 4 m in diameter, smaller than the domes of the churches of St. Nikola and St. Aberkios. The dome rests on two engaged lateral arches, which extend between pairs of pilasters. Barrel vaults extend the space to the east and west. The shorter eastern bay was inserted behind the pilasters of the atrophied Greek-cross to facilitate access to the sanctuary and allow for their wider dimensions. As in the church of St. Nikola, the interior of the church of the Virgin Petrichka has pleasing proportions. The arrangement of the tripartite sanctuary repeats the solution seen at St. Nikola. The tribelon is here accentuated by raising the opening of the main apse to the height of the eastern barrel vault, almost twice as high as the lateral openings (Figure 5.9). In contrast to the churches of St. Nikola and St. Aberkios, the church has only one tier of windows on its lateral walls. The upper two-light windows, traces of which are visible on the façades, may have been blocked to provide additional surfaces for interior fresco decoration.

Figure 5.8 Asenova Krepost, Church of the Virgin Petrichka. South façade (photo: author).

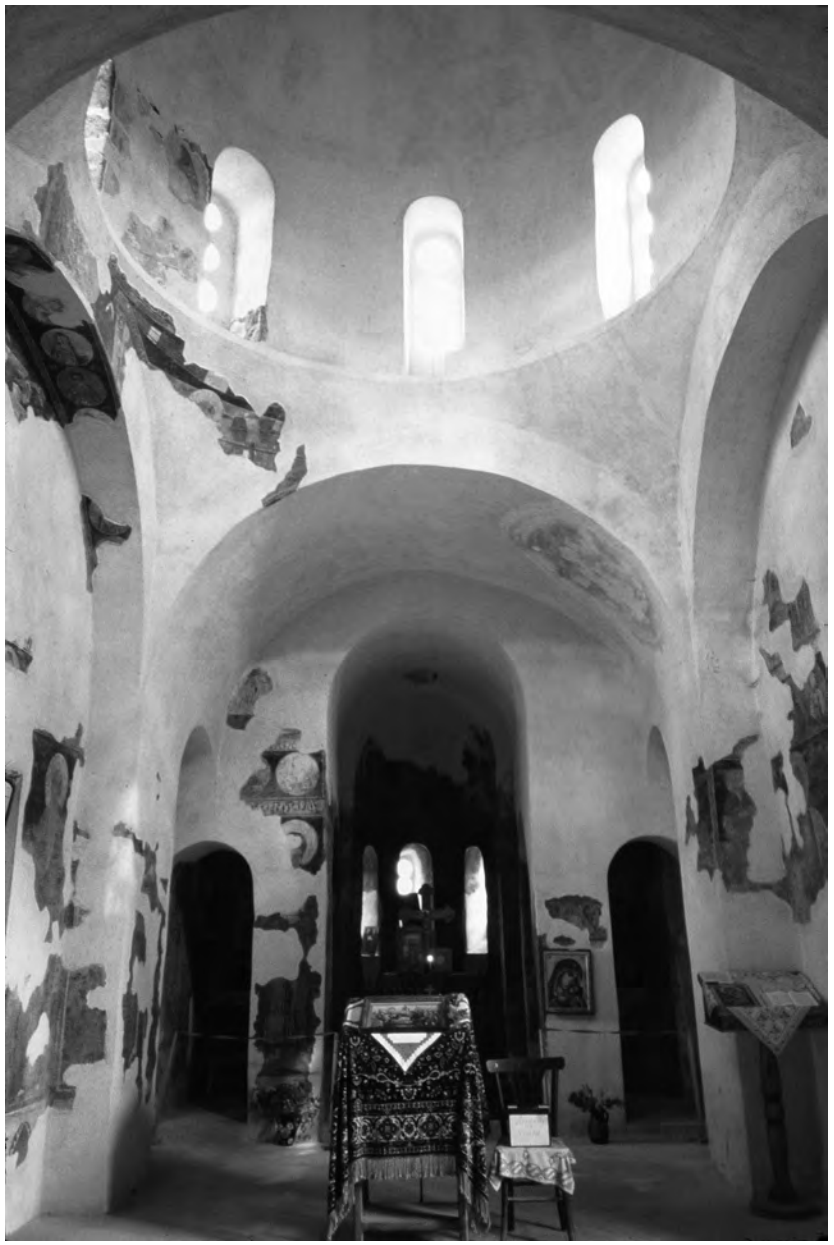


Figure 5.9 Asenova Krepost, Church of the Virgin Petrichka. Interior of the naos, looking east (photo: author).

The exterior of the church, however, corresponds with Constantinopolitan architecture only in its rudimentary shapes. The characteristics of standard design, including the correspondence of exterior and interior forms, were respected only in the central portion of the lateral façades below the dome. Instead, the subordinated articulation of the southern façade includes approximately equal blind arcades that do not exactly correlate with the interior divisions. Their double setbacks, together with a frieze of pendant triangles below the apse, are the sole elements of Komnenian design displayed on the façades of the church.

The major difference from Constantinopolitan models, however, is the shape of the uppermost portion of the church of the Virgin Petrichka. Adding the longitudinal extensions to the central square unit resolved the functional requirements, but this variation in plan was not followed by a similar intervention on the exterior. When compared to the earlier examples, the dome seems to have lost its prominence. This is primarily due to the de-emphasis of the cross arms. The exterior of the church was thus deprived of the high, fully exposed tympana, common to all previous examples of the atrophied Greek-cross church. The local team of builders responsible for the church in Stanimaka was successful in developing the interior space, but less so with the exterior design. A satisfactory solution would have required adjustments between the heights of the vaults and the articulation of the façades. The design skills of the master mason of the church of St. Nikola in Kuršumlija thus appear far greater than those of the Stanimaka builders. Raising the height of lateral arcades and the upper roof cornices diminished the prominence of the central arcade, reducing the façade to a two-dimensional screen.

A final example of the same building type comes from the church of the Virgin, the *katholikon* of the monastery of Studenica in Serbia, where Stefan Nemanja became a monk in 1196 after abdicating the throne.[27] Although the plan of the church differs little from the earlier examples of the atrophied Greek-cross churches (Figure 5.1E), it was apparently executed by builders invited from the Adriatic coast.[28] Its sumptuous Romanesque façades (Figure 5.10) stand in contrast to its interior fresco decoration, which was clearly created by sophisticated Byzantine painters.[29] The exterior of the church displays an additional curiosity in the Byzantine form and construction of the dome, which merits further examination.

As we know from written accounts, the church was not completely finished before Nemanja's departure to Mount Athos in 1197.[30] The inscription at the base of the dome specifically mentions the contribution of Nemanja's sons to the erection of the church and the completion of the fresco decoration in 1208–1209.[31] We have additional indications that in 1197 the construction of the church was not yet completed from the unfinished marble blocks incorporated in the masonry of the church: these probably indicate the efforts to expedite the construction. The church was probably completed 1202–1205

Figure 5.10 Studenica, Church of the Virgin. Exterior, from the northwest (photo: S. Barišić).

during the reign of Nemanja's son Vukan, before Sava transferred his father's remains from Mount Athos to Studenica.[32]

The discrepancy between the design of the dome and the façades of the church may indicate of a delay in the construction work as well as a change in the building workshop. The differences in construction techniques also support this idea. The examination of the church walls indicates that the exterior was built of marble ashlars up to 50 cm thick.[33] The interior was constructed by regular horizontal courses of tufa, with the core filled with mortar mixed with rubble. This construction is uniform throughout the church, except for the interior lunettes below the crossarm arches and the drum of the dome. These are made by courses of tufa 10–12 cm high alternating with single courses of brick. While the other vaults are made of tufa, the arches supporting the dome, the pendentives, and the dome itself are built of brick, corresponding to the change evident on the exterior at the height of the pendentives. The drum and the intrados of the dome are scalloped, and its exterior is detailed with the colonnettes and recessed arches, features characteristic of the Komnenian monuments of the Byzantine capital. It would appear that the Romanesque masons had not completed the church, and the erection of the dome was assigned to a crew of Byzantine builders. The reasons for this shift may be sought in the close ties of the *ktetor*, and especially his son Sava, with Mount Athos and Byzantine monasticism, as well as the availability of Byzantine masons after the Latin Conquest of Constantinople in 1204.

The exterior of the church calls for further examination. It seems that the original concept of the church as planned by the Latin builders involved a different design for the dome pedestal.[34] The changes in design and technique can be correlated with the arrival of Byzantine builders, although it is not clear whether the Byzantine masons worked simultaneously with the coastal workshop or if they came only after the exterior of the façades had been completed.[35] The two workshops may have worked together for a short period of time. The Byzantines were responsible for the interior uppermost portion of the dome pedestal, while the coastal builders finished the exterior face of the wall. The collaboration of the two workshops could explain why beneath the Romanesque sheathing, the façades have features characteristic of Komnenian buildings. The central portions of lateral façades are articulated by broad, recessed archivolts, analogous to the interior arches of the cross arms. We might interpret this as an ad hoc solution to adjust the upper portion of the building to a new design for the dome. In addition, each lunette contains the customary Komnenian tripartite windows, but within each opening is a marble bifora. We may speculate that upon his arrival, the Byzantine master builder helped to determine the design of the upper portion of the dome pedestal.

Unlike the builders of the church of the Virgin in Stanimaka, the second master builder at Studenica handled the longitudinal extensions to the naos

successfully, in spite of the change in design. The naos façade has a shallow archivolt fully raised above the cornice of the lateral bays to form the towerlike pedestal for the dome. Viewed together, these examples illustrate differing abilities to address interior structural modification with respect to the elevation—that is, to coordinate the three-dimensional aspects of architectural design. The façades of the church at Studenica preserve incisions from several arches, one of which corresponds to the curvature of the archivolt.[36] One wonders if in a mixed workshop the Byzantine masons might have learned to use architectural drawings.

The Romanesque appearance of Studenica's façades and the change in building techniques clearly indicate that Byzantine builders were not engaged in the construction of the lower parts of the church. It is also clear that a Byzantine master builder did not supervise the work. The builders were most probably required by the patron to follow the Byzantine plan of his earlier foundation, the nearby church of St. Nikola, which they could have visited prior to the beginning of the work in Studenica. Yet one might wonder how the architectural design of St. Nikola was transmitted, for at Studenica the Byzantine plan was interpreted by the artisans trained in a different architectural style. Thus, the façades of the church at Studenica reveal the role of a workshop in the transmission of architectural forms.

Originality in Byzantine Architecture

The variety in design of a single building type presented here allows us to draw a number of conclusions about the methods of work of Byzantine master builders and the nature of change in Byzantine architecture. The examples discussed here illustrate their efforts to address the structural, functional, and formal components of architecture. Byzantine builders were well acquainted with the established plan types and suitable structural systems. A closer look into their procedures allows us to recognize strategies that may challenge both the present ideas of established architectural types and the perception of medieval architectural design.

The basic architectural method was to design with the building blocks, which proved to be especially suitable in the addition of ancillary spaces.[37] This additive process of design, however, does not fully explain the complexity the examples analyzed above. In order to meet various requirements, whether related to structure, plan, or design, the constituent components derived from various planning types have been disengaged and reassembled. As we saw, the sanctuary of the church of St. Aberkios follows the model developed in earlier cruciform arrangements, in which the main apse matches the width of the cross-arm and the pastophoria terminates the lateral bays. In contrast, the sanctuary of St. Nikola seems to represent a detachment of a sanctuary

unit from a cross-in-square churches and its attachment to a unified naos. The design of the sanctuary tribelon of St. Nikola is one of the cases in which we recognize the creativity of the Byzantine master masons.

In the process of perfecting a specific planning and structural formula, Byzantine architects did not adhere to commonly presupposed, typologically limited solutions. In fact, the interchangeability of structural elements and spatial or functional units became one of the main principles in Byzantine planning. An understanding of the interchangeability of structural elements allowed more flexibility in design. Since the medieval buildings too often defy firm typological categories, there is no reason to believe that the understanding of the structural and functional problems did not go beyond that what we now perceive as the plan types.

Another important consideration in design was the experimentation with scale, which was often combined with other design strategies. Both aesthetics and structure were challenged by a dramatic change of dimensions.[38] Experimentation with scale thus had repercussions in both structural design and the invention of new building types. Generally less considered are the problems in architectural design caused by small dimensions. The atrophied Greek-cross type allowed for the creation of a unified space covered by a large dome. Even if there is a great difference in dimensions between the Chora and the church of St. Aberkios, they were both created to reconcile the limitations of a *small* interior space.

The three well-known examples of churches with atrophied Greek-cross plans built by the Constantinopolitan builders have strikingly similar dimensions (Figures 5.1B, C, D). Their central units are covered by domes nearly 5 m in diameter, a measurement that was familiar from other building types and allowed ease of execution. The practical-empirical knowledge of statics yielded models with standardized dimensions that could be repeated.

Notwithstanding the similarities in plan and dimensions, none of these churches possesses an identical interior or exterior arrangement. The twelfth-century buildings display a range of formal elements, recognizable to a greater or lesser degree in a wide sphere of Komnenian influence. The Komnenian architects operated within the framework of organized design principles. Yet, as we saw, not all the buildings encapsulate the ability of their builders to produce satisfactory design solutions. This is especially evident in the manner of articulating the three-dimensional relationship between the exterior and the interior architectural components.

The architecture of the eleventh and twelfth centuries deserves to be called organic, since the building's exterior articulation was an accurate reflection of its inner structural organization. But the outer shell, molded with multiple recessed planes, epitomizes a certain understanding of design not strictly determined by the structural system of the building. The essence of a strict and well-established design system, as well as the evolved working

methods of Byzantine master builders, should not be perceived in terms of the repetitive nature of serial production, but rather in terms of its flexibility to respond to various requirements while maintaining the possibility for a distinct architectural expression.

Acknowledgments

I offer this study in honor of Professor Slobodan Ćurčić, to whom I owe deepest gratitude for his continuous advice regarding the subject matters of Byzantine architecture.

Notes

1 R. Ousterhout, *Master Builders of Byzantium* (Princeton, 1999; 2nd paperback edition: Philadelphia, 2008).

2 For a critique of Ousterhout, see Ch. Bouras, "Originality in Byzantine Architecture," *Mélanges Jean-Pierre Sodini*, = *TM* 15 (2005): 99–108.

3 Ousterhout, *Master Builders*, 43–4.

4 R. Ousterhout, "The Byzantine Church at Enez: Problems in Twelfth-Century Architecture," *JÖB* 35 (1985): 261-80.

5 R. Ousterhout, *The Architecture of the Kariye Camii in Istanbul* (Washington, D.C., 1987), 20–21.

6 For the later history of the Kariye Camii see Ousterhout, *Kariye Camii*, 34–6.

7 Ousterhout, *Kariye Camii*, 19–20.

8 D. Oates, "A Summary Report on the Excavations of the Byzantine Institute in the Kariye Camii, 1957–58," *DOP* 14 (1960): 226–7. Ousterhout, *Kariye Camii*, 15–20. For the hypothetical reconstruction of the plan see Ousterhout, *Master Builders*, 94–6, fig. 62.

9 Ousterhout, *Kariye Camii*, 21–2.

10 Krautheimer, *ECBA*, 365. The closer examination of this reemergence deserves a separate study that is beyond the scope of this chapter.

11 M. Ljubinković, "Crkva Svetog Nikole kod Kuršumlije," *ArhPr* 14 (1972): 121–5.

12 M. Čanak-Medić and Dj. Bošković, *L'architecture de l'epoque de Nemanja I, Monuments de l'architecture medievale serbe, Corpus des édifices sacraux* (Belgrade, 1986), 26–8, for the various scholarly opinions on the dating of the main church.

13 The origins and spread of recessed brick or concealed course technique have been given much scholarly attention. Most important for the Middle Byzantine period is N. Brunov, "The Odalar-Djami von Konstantinopel," *BZ* 26 (1926): 353–4. C. Mango, "The Date of the Narthex Mosaics of the Church of the Dormition at Nicaea," *DOP* 13 (1959): 249–50; H. Hellensleben, "Untersuchungen zur Baugeschichte der ehemaligen Pammakaristoskirche, der heutigen Fethiye Camii in Istanbul," *IstMitt* 13–14 (1963–1964): 128–93; H. Schäfer,

"Architekturhistorische Beziehungen zwischen Byzanz und der Kiever Rus im 10. und 11. Jahrhundert," *IstMitt* 23/24 (1973/1974): 198–218. For further examples see: P. Vocotopoulos, "The Concealed Course Technique, Further Examples and a Few Remarks," *JÖB* 28 (1979): 247–60.

14 The village of Kurşunlu is situated about 12 km east of the modern city of Mudanya. The monastery should not be confused with the remains of another monastery called Kurşunlu described by C. Mango and I. Ševčenko, "Some Churches and Monasteries on the Southern Shore of the Sea of Marmara," *DOP* 27 (1973): 235–77, which is located in a village with the same name in the vicinity of the city of Bandırma.

15 C. Mango, "The Monastery of St. Abercius at Kurşunlu (Elegmi) Bithynia," *DOP* 22 (1968): 172–6, elaborates the data from the sources and designates the church as the main church of the monastery Elegmi, known from the preserved *typikon*.

16 The *typikon* specifically mentions the rebuilding and strengthening of the collapsed parts, the erection of many buildings "from their foundations," and the encircling of the monastery with the "secure enclosure." A. Bandy, "Heliou Bomon: Typikon," in: J. Thomas and A. Hero, eds, *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents* (Washington, D.C., 2000), 3: 1051.

17 Oates, "Summary Report," 228.

18 Recent excavations proved the existence of the earlier basilica and uncovered more remains of earlier architectural decoration, but not the lateral additions of the twelfth-century church: M. I. Tunay et al., "Recent Excavations in the Church of Hagios Aberkios, Kurşunlu, Province of Bursa (Turkey)," *CahArch* 46 (1998): 67. Yet, two lateral entrances to the naos leave a possibility that external porticos were intended but not executed, or they were formed by light wooden structures. The church in Yuşa Tepesi also has a similar arrangement of the sanctuary with two protruded eastern chapels.

19 The remains of the eastern façade walls preserved the original voussoirs in the springing of two lateral barrel vaults above the pastophoria. The middle vault springing from the same height is the twentieth-century reconstruction. M. Čanak-Medić and Bošković, *L'epoque de Nemanja I*, 1–19.

20 In Constantinople only the exterior of the fourteenth-century southern parekklesion of the church of the Virgin Pammakaristos displays an eastern window placed on the pedestal of the dome; see T. Mathews, *The Byzantine Churches of Istanbul, A Photographic Survey* (University Park, PA, 1976), 355, fig. 36–12.

21 Čanak-Medić and Bošković, *L'epoque de Nemanja I*, 28, observes these characteristics as the divergence from Constantinopolitan practice. Krautheimer, *ECBA*, 387, underscores the differences from metropolitan planning: "the structure presents itself and an eminently Constantinopolitan building–*in partibus infidelium*, as it were."

22 Ousterhout, *Master Builders*, 222, for the procedures developed for a construction of vaults without centering.

23 The only Constantinopolitan example is the later northeastern chapel in the church of Christ in Chora, built in the fourteenth century. Ousterhout, *Kariye Camii*, 46–8, fig. 67, discusses the irregularities of the chapel and its dome, noting that its overall diameter is nearly a full meter wider than a cornice. Yet the diameter of the dome, about 2.90 m, allowed for blind scallops without pronounced unpleasant effect.

24 Petrich was the seat of the *Boyar* Ivanko, the assassin of Asen I (1187–1196). Ivanko was defeated by the Byzantines in 1200. The fortress was reinforced and extended in 1230 by the Bulgarian Tsar Ivan Asen II (1218–1241). I. Ivanov, "Asenovata krepost pri Stanimaka i Backovskiiat manastir," *Izvestiia na Bulgarskoto Arheologichesko druzhestvo* 2/2 (1911): 193–7.

25 N. Mavrodinov, *Ednokorabnata i krustovidnata curkva po bulgarkitie zemi do kraiia na XIV v.* (Sofia 1931), 50–55. K. Miiatev, *Arhitekturata v srednovekovna Bulgaria* (Sofia 1965), 171–3.

26 For the frescoes see L. Mavrodinova, *Stennata živopis v Bulgariia do kariia na XIV bek* (Sofia 1995), 60.

27 Sava Nemanjić, "Život Stefana Nemanje," *Stare srpske biografije*, trans. M. Bašić (Belgrade, 1924), 9.

28 S. Ćirković, V. Korać, and G. Babić, *Studenica Monastery* (Belgrade, 1986), 32–42.

29 See for example V. Djurić, "Sveti Sava i slikarstvo njegovog doba," *Sava Nemanjić–Sveti Sava, Istorija i predanje* (Belgrade, 1979), 245–61.

30 Sava Nemanjić, "Život Stefana Nemanje," 151, 153, 173–5, mentions Nemanja's advice to his older son Stefan to take care of the finishing of the church.

31 Čanak-Medić and Bošković, *L'epoque de Nemanja I*, 80.

32 Čanak-Medić and Bošković, *L'epoque de Nemanja I*, 80.

33 Čanak-Medić and Bošković, *L'epoque de Nemanja I*, 94–6, for detailed description of the building techniques.

34 M. Čanak-Medić, "Prvobitna zamisao kupolnog dela Bogorodičine crkve u Studenici," *Raška baština* 2 (1980): 27–42, proposed that the original design involved four triangular gables on the sides and a pyramidal roof above the dome pedestal in line with contemporaneous Apulian churches.

35 Čanak-Medić and Bošković, *L'epoque de Nemanja I*, 88, hold the opinion that the Latin workshop left before the arrival of the Byzantine builders.

36 Čanak-Medić and Bošković, *L'epoque de Nemanja I*, 98–9, fig. 12.

37 Ousterhout, *Master Builders*, 110–16, refers to this method as an additive process of design.

38 Ousterhout, *Master Builders*, 30.

6

Prolegomena for a Study of Royal Entrances in Byzantine Churches: The Case of Marko's Monastery

Ida Sinkević

The presence of royal doors in Western medieval churches and cathedrals is a widely discussed topic in the literature, but less attention has been given to the iconography, function, and location of entrances reserved for royalty in Byzantine churches. Scholars had assumed that unless specifically indicated the main entrance into Byzantine churches was located on the west side of the edifice. In his important study on the palatine aspects of Cappella Palatina, Slobodan Ćurčić successfully challenged this claim and brought to our attention processional and programmatic concerns in determining the function of an entrance.[1] He also pointed out the important role of the doors located on the flanking façades of the edifice. Following in the footsteps of my professor and mentor, albeit with considerably smaller feet, this chapter aims to provide further questioning of the function of entrances in Byzantine churches. More specifically, I examine the iconography, function, and significance of the south door of the fourteenth-century church of St. Demetrios, popularly known as Marko's Monastery, for which it was the *katholikon*. I argue that the south door was intended for the entrance of the king (Figure 6.1).

Marko's Monastery is located near the village of Sušica in the vicinity of Skopje in the Republic of Macedonia. Although the *typikon* of the monastery is lost, the partially preserved painted inscription above the south door in the interior of the church reveals that it is a royal foundation (Figure 6.8).[2] While the presence of an inscription above the entrance does not necessarily identify the function of the door, it nonetheless informs us that the church was begun in 1346/1347, under the auspices of King Vukašin and during the reign of Tsar Dušan, and completed in 1381, during the reign and under the patronage of Vukašin's son, the legendary King Marko:

Figure 6.1
Skopje (near), Marko's Monastery. South façade (photo: Ljubomir Milanović).

> According to the will of the Father, the blessing of the Son and, by the grace of the Holy Spirit, this glorious and holy church of the saintly and great-martyr of Christ, the Victory-Bearer and Myrrhstreamer Demetrios, was rebuilt and adorned with paintings in the year 6885 (1376/77), owing to the generous support of the god-fearing King Vukašin and the pious Queen Jelena, and their beloved first-born son, the god-fearing King Marko, and the sons Andreaš, Ivaniš and Dimitar. This monastery was started in the year 6853 (1344/45), during the days of the god-fearing King Dušan and Christ-loving King Vukašin, and was completed during the reign of the god-fearing and Christ-loving king Marko.[3]

The church is laid out as a cross-in-square naos with the narthex incorporated into the body of the building and an exonarthex appended to the west (Figure 6.2).[4] In the interior, the cross-in-square design is evident only in the upper zones; the space below the springing point of the arches is unified without walled divisions between the naos and the narthex. We enter the naos of the church by two doors—the main portal to the west and the door in the center of the south cross arm; the latter is centered directly below the two-light window and represents the topic of our query.

The exterior decoration of the south door has been noted for its royal themes (Figure 6.3). The images in the lunette above the door on the exterior include the patron saint, St. Demetrios, surmounted by a bust of Christ who blesses King Vukašin to his left and King Marko to the right. Both rulers are dressed in imperial costumes, and they hold open rolls that display the now damaged texts from their imperial charters.[5] Marko is shown holding a horn in his right hand, an unusual attribute, not commonly seen in Byzantine royal portraits. We are aware of only one other portrait of a Byzantine emperor represented with a horn, a life-size figure of Manuel I Komnenos in the thirteenth-century church of Hagia Sophia in Trebizond. This portrait, however, has been destroyed and is known to us only from the chromolithograph by a Russian artist, Gregorii Gagarin, published in 1897.[6]

The arch above the rulers displays images of the Virgin of Passion, holding Christ and inclining toward an Archangel who is bringing the instruments of Passion (Figure 6.3). The Virgin and Archangel are flanked by Kings David and Solomon, whose scrolls reveal texts that honor the Virgin. David's is Psalm 45:10; Solomon's is from Proverbs 31:29.[7] The last figure to the left of the Virgin is St. Athanasia Pharmakolytria, who holds a small flask in her right hand. To the right of the Virgin are St. Stephen the Protomartyr, who holds a fan-shaped scroll in his left hand with an illegible text, and St. Catherine with a thin circular object that was identified as a crown.

Since its discovery in 1964, when their plaster covering was removed, the composition above the south door has been the subject of scholarly controversy.[8] The unusual portrait of King Marko represented with a horn has received the most attention. V. Djurić, one of the first scholars to discuss the

meaning of this portrait and the composition as a whole, suggested that the horn in Marko's hands is based on Psalm 89, thus emphasizing the king's role as a "new David," the new ruler who, to paraphrase this Psalm, will receive God's support in his fight against enemies and in continuation of his family and throne.[9] The unction of David as an imperial theme and the association of the Byzantine emperor with David have a long history in both Byzantium and in the West.[10] Djurić also claimed that the image of Marko as a "new David" addressed the imminent threat of Turkish invasion, a ubiquitous theme after the Turkish conquest of Serbian forces in the 1371 battle of Marica, which devastated Serbia and claimed numerous lives, including Marko's father, King Vukašin, and resulted in diminished territories and inner political turmoil. Djurić saw the images above the portal as an extension of the theological metaphor of suffering, sacrifice, and salvation developed in the painted program.

While accepting the interpretation of Marko as a new David, I. Djordjević believed the meaning of the images to be much more closely connected to the specific political challenges Marko faced in his role as king, including the struggle for power within Serbia at that time and Marko's assertion of his primacy as the only legitimate successor of the Nemanjić family.[11]

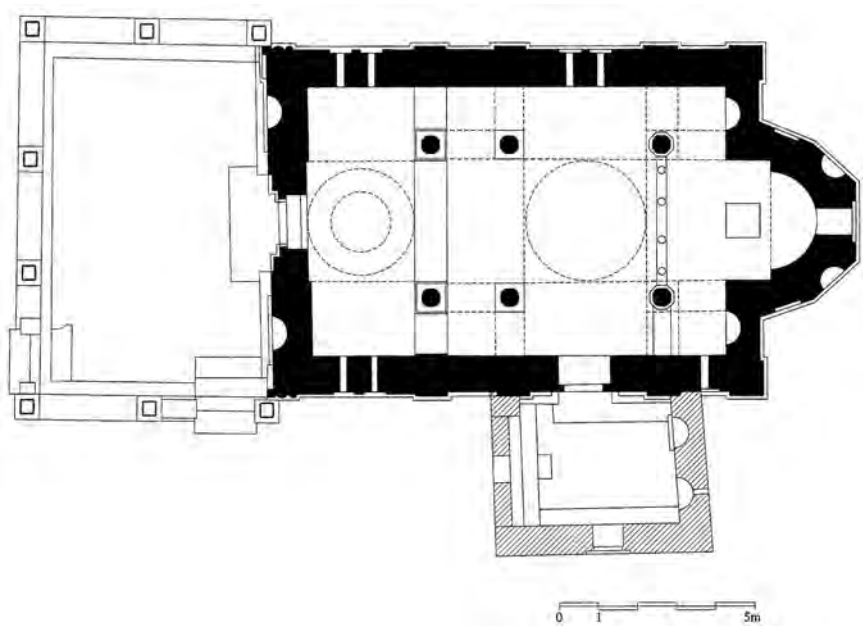


Figure 6.2 Marko's Monastery, plan (drawing: Jelena Bogdanović).

S. Marjanović-Dušanić called attention to an additional source for the scene, the Serbian adaptation of the *King's Mirror* by Agapetos, a sixth-century deacon of the church of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople.[12] The text describes the obligations and demeanor of an ideal terrestrial ruler, drawing parallels between the ruler and Christ and maintaining that the "emperor is God's representative on earth, unamenable to human pressure, but himself a mere man, who shapes his kingdom into an imitation of heaven by his own philosophy, purity, piety, and exercise of philanthropy."[13] Preserved in a single manuscript, the Serbian translation is dated in the third quarter of the fourteenth century, the period of Marko's kingship. In addition, it is believed to have been produced in Marko's lands, either in the scriptorium of Sts. Archangels in Prilep or in Marko's Monastery itself. Analyzing its content and provenance, Marjanović-Dušanić claims that the appearance of this treatise in Marko's circle was a component of an ideological program intended to define the ideals of the ruler after the battle of Marica, most notably his royal duty to sacrifice for the fate of Christianity. These ideals are evident both in the text and in the iconography of images.

Figure 6.3 Marko's Monastery, lunette above the south door (photo: Nebojša Stanković).

Another interpretation has been provided by Z. Gavrilović, who claimed that the horn held by Marko is symbolic of baptism.[14] She emphasized the references to the holy oil in the presence of the horn, the unusual epithet Ο ΕΛΕΗΜΩΝ (Merciful) inscribed by the bust of St. Demetrios, and even the flask held by St. Athanasia—although the relationship between the holy oil of the baptism and the flask carried by Athanasia is questionable because the contents of her flask were believed to have been used for medicinal purposes. Gavrilović concluded that the horn of oil held by the ruler reveals imperial ideology based on the spirit of enlightenment achieved through the ritual of Baptism, and that "the iconography of the fresco can be understood as a statement of the royal and priestly character of the baptized Christians in which Marko's role of a wise king and defender of faith holds an important place."[15]

Figure 6.4 Marko's Monastery, bema (photo: Ljubomir Milanović).

While the complexity of the arguments presented above goes beyond the scope of this chapter, it is important to note that they are not mutually exclusive. Considering the polyvalent nature of images in Byzantium, we may assume that the images above the door could simultaneously relay both the universal aspects of suffering, sacrifice, and salvation and a personal wish of the king to emphasize the legitimacy of his rule. Nor should we preclude baptismal associations. Baptism was the only ceremony in the Byzantine church that included unction, although anointing also signified an accession to power. A comparison between the anointing of emperors and the unction of baptism has been drawn in Byzantine literature, and anointing was incorporated into Byzantine coronation rites at least by the early thirteenth century.[16] Thus, it appears that all arguments converge in illuminating different aspects of the identity and aspirations of the king communicated through his image.

It is important to emphasize that the unusual portrait of King Marko—enlightened, anointed by God, and ready to sacrifice in troubled times like Christ and the saints above him—gives this portal a special distinction. The special status of this door is also confirmed by the aforementioned ktetor's inscription (Figure 6.8). The text of the inscription is standard, giving brief information about the history of the church and the names of its patrons. The importance of the ktetor's inscription becomes apparent, however, when we consider it within the context of the interior decoration of the church.

The interior of Marko's monastery reveals a theologically complex, iconographically perplexing, and ideologically charged ensemble of fourteenth-century paintings (Figures 6.4–6.9). The innovative aspects of the iconographic program of Marko's monastery are revealed both in the spatial articulation of scenes and images and in its peculiar iconographic solutions. For example, the church displays a liturgically charged cycle of the Akathistos Hymn in the second register of the bema and the nave (Figure 6.4); the scene of the Royal Deesis, seldom seen in Byzantine churches and discussed later in this chapter (Figure 6.7); and an unusually elaborate treatment of the Massacre of the Innocents, climaxing with the Lament of Rachel, one of the most powerful lamenting scenes in Byzantine art.[17] Moreover, the arrangement of painted cycles in the interior of the church reveals new notions about the hierarchical design of Byzantine churches, with scenes and images placed at unconventional locations and integrated into original programmatic designs, the subject of my study in preparation. For example, the representation of the Divine Liturgy, well established in the domical spheres of the church during the fourteenth century, migrated into the lowest zone by the altar (Figure 6.4).[18]

Spatial articulation of scenes and images in Marko's monastery adheres to the architectural design of the edifice. The upper zones are divided by full walls and maintain separate cycles in the naos and the narthex: the Life and Passion of Christ occupy the uppermost zones of the church, and the cycles of the life of the Virgin and the life of St. Nicholas dominate the walls of the narthex.

Figure 6.5 Marko's Monastery, west and north wall (photo: author).

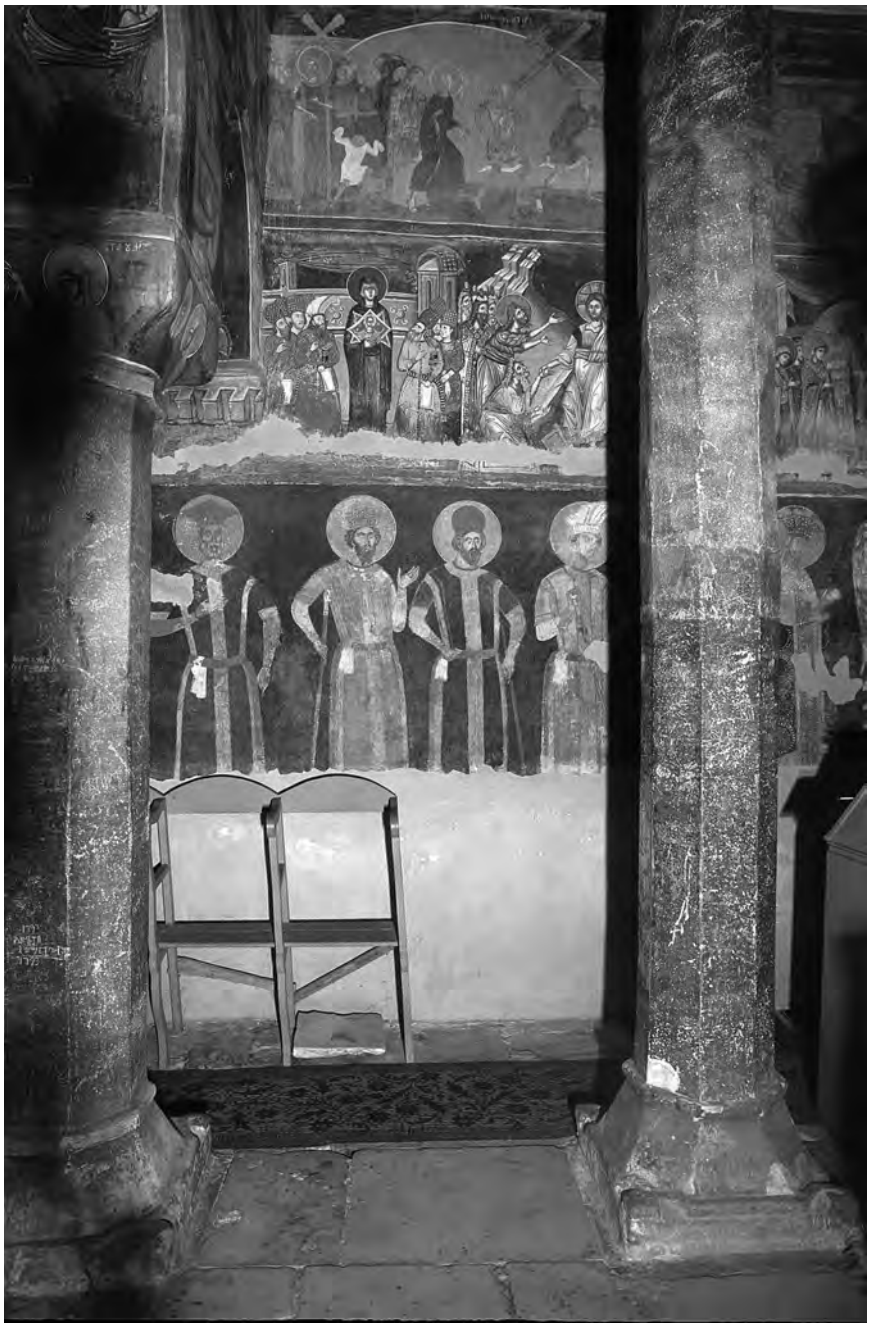


Figure 6.6 Marko's Monastery, north wall with warrior saints (photo: author).

The lower zones, however, are unified both spatially and programmatically. The cycle of the Akathistos Hymn, which starts above the Divine Liturgy, in the second register just south of the two-light window in the apse, disregards spatial divisions between the narthex and the naos and envelops throughout the full length of both the south and the north walls, completing the cycle on the north side of the apse window (Figure 6.4).[19] We see the same tendency to unify the space of the interior in the procession of saints dressed in the costumes of contemporary gentlemen that runs uninterruptedly on north and south walls, their gestures indicating that on both sides they tend to move toward the sanctuary (Figures 6.6–6.9).

While the garments of the figures first led scholars to believe that they represent laypeople, it has now been established that the procession in the naos includes the martyrs on the south wall and the Old Testament King David and five famous holy warriors on the north wall.[20] The warrior saints have been identified from east to west as St. George, St. Theodore Tiron, St. Theodore Stratelates, St. Eustachios, and St. Artemius (or St. Niketas) (Figures 6.5–6.7).[21] Animated and gesturing toward the altar, the saints appear to be processing eastward. They are followed by the members of the royal family including King Vukašin, who gestures toward the east to give the model of the church to the angel above, thus adhering to the general orientation of the procession of saints. He is flanked by his wife, Jelena, and his son, King Marko, to the left and right, respectively (Figure 6.5).

The procession on the north wall terminates with the representation of the Old Testament king David, the Virgin, Christ, and the winged St. John the Baptist, placed next to the iconostasis (Figure 6.7). This complex arrangement of the holy figures has been commonly identified as the Royal Deesis, although other titles—such as the Heavenly Jerusalem, the Heavenly Court, and "The Queen of Heaven standing at Thy Right Hand"—have been also used by scholars.[22] The most unusual aspects of this scene are the aristocratic robes of the saints and the royal attire of the holy figures.

Based on preserved examples, the scene first appeared in the fourteenth century and has been detected in a select number of churches related to the archbishopric of Ohrid or its orbit of influence, such as in the monastery Treskavec near Prilep (first half of the fourteenth century), in the monastery Zaum, near Ohrid (ca. 1361), in the Church of the Virgin Peribleptos, Ohrid (1364/1365), in the church of St. Athanasius in Kastoria (ca. 1384–1385), and in St. Nicholas at Treska near Skopje (end of the fourteenth century).[23] It is also seen on an icon from Verroia and in the Serbian Psalter from the Munich Public Library (Cod. Slav. 4, f. 58v, ca. 1370–1390).[24] In addition, the Royal Deesis is also found in Russia, in the church at Kovalyovo near Novgorod (ca. 1380) and on an icon from the cathedral of the Assumption in the Moscow Kremlin.[25] The Royal Deesis eventually became popular and commonly represented in post-Byzantine art.

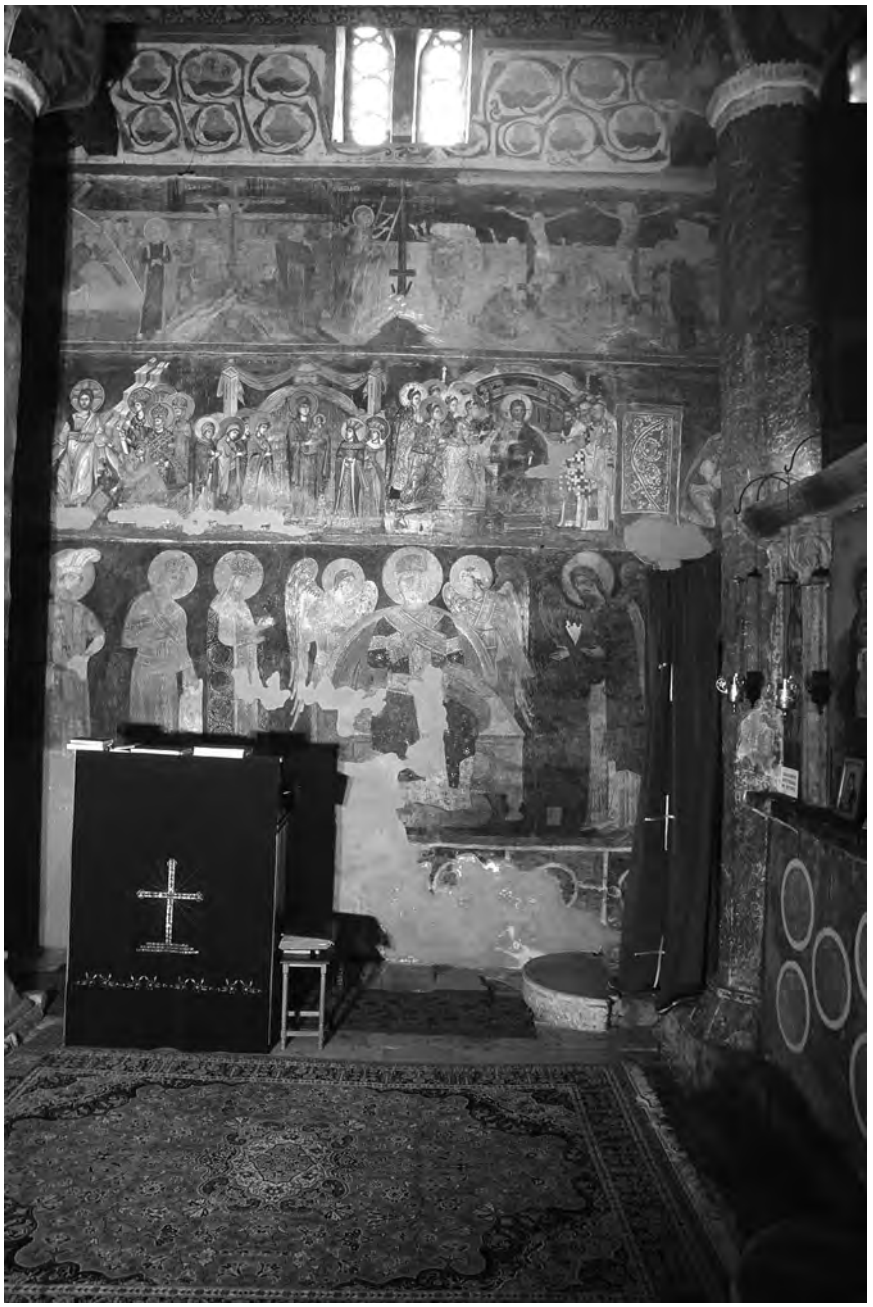


Figure 6.7 Marko's Monastery, north wall with the Royal Deesis (photo: author).

Figure 6.8 Marko's Monastery, south door (photo: author).

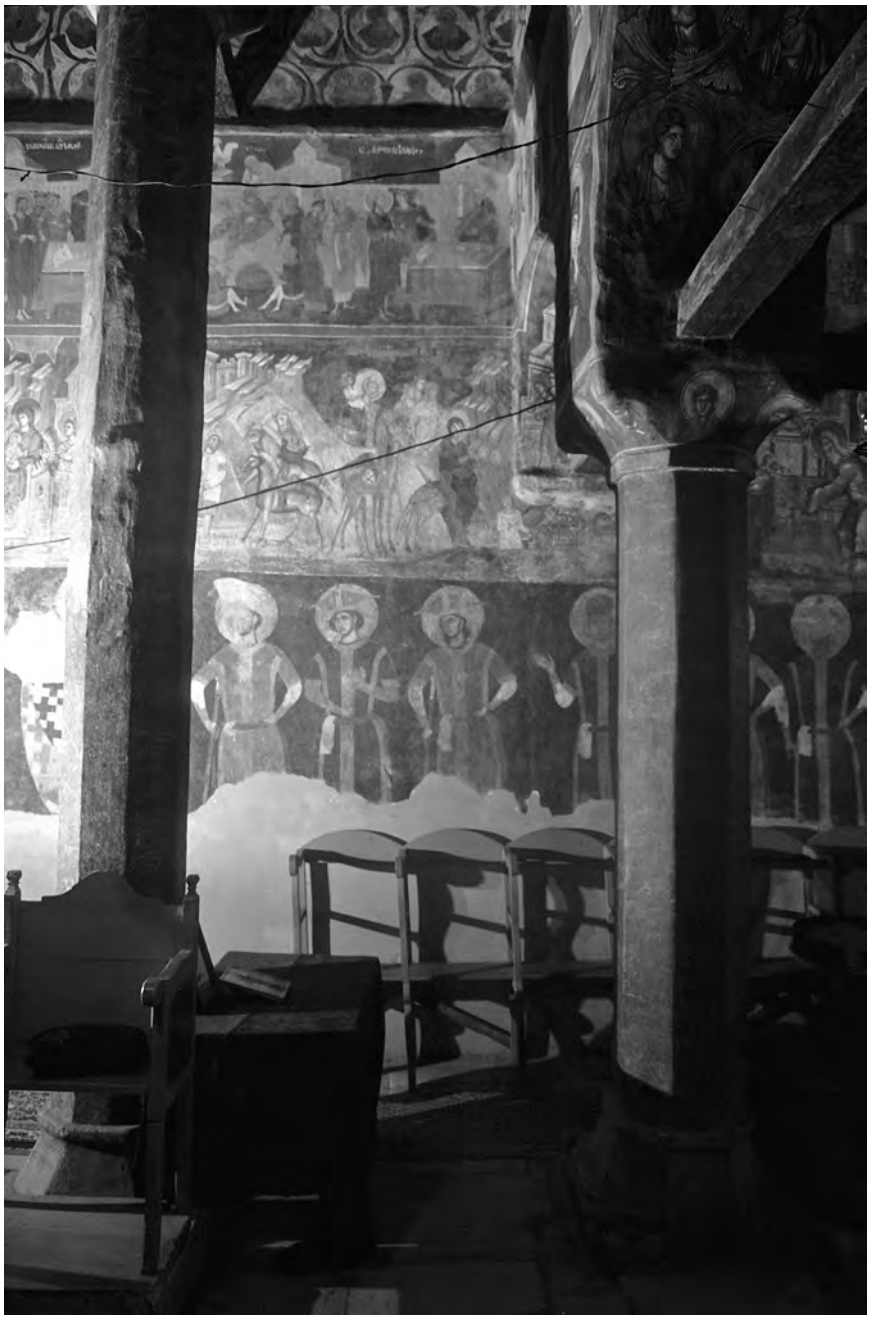


Figure 6.9 Marko's Monastery, south wall (photo: author).

The iconography and location of the Royal Deesis is varied. It appears that early examples of the scene are relegated to the narthex. For example, in the earliest-known representation of the scene in Treskavec, the Royal Deesis is located in the north dome of the narthex. It displays the image of Christ as King in the medallion at the summit of the dome and the Hetoimasia flanked by David and the Virgin represented as Queen. Below, in the drum, is the procession of holy warriors dressed, as in Marko's monastery, in aristocratic costumes.[26] Subsequent examples of the scene, found in Zaum and in the Virgin Peribleptos in Ohrid, are also located in the narthex, in both instances on the western façades. The location of the Royal Deesis on the north wall of the naos near the iconostasis, as seen in Marko's monastery, appears to be a later phenomenon; it will become standard in post-Byzantine art.

Iconographic variations of the scene impede a clear formulation of its development. For example, the Hetoimasia, so prominently displayed in Treskavec, is absent in later examples. While the procession of saints is limited to holy warriors in Treskavec and in Marko's Monastery, in Zaum it is expanded to all classes of saints, from Old Testament figures to holy warriors and desert saints.[27] This expanded version is also adopted in the church of St. Athanasios in Kastoria, underlining the eschatological character of the scene, with only a few holy warriors in aristocratic costume.[28]

The figure of David also receives different levels of prominence and came to be replaced by St. John the Baptist in later art. In Zaum, the composition focuses on the enthroned Christ flanked by the Virgin and St. John. While David is included, he is represented together with Solomon under the Deesis as the first among the chosen.[29] In the Serbian Psalter and the icon from the Moscow Kremlin, the scene is reduced to the main protagonists. However, the manuscript displays the enthroned Christ surrounded by two archangels and flanked by the Virgin and David, while in the icon from the Kremlin John the Baptist supplants the figure of David.

The Royal Deesis at Marko's Monastery is the only known example that gives prominence to both St. John and King David (Figure 6.7). Placed directly across from the south entrance, the scene faces the viewer entering through that door. The core of the scene displays the enthroned Christ, crowned and wearing the robes of Byzantine rulers, the long *divitision* and the *loros* crossed at his chest.[30] Two angels dressed in imperial garb flank Christ. To the left of Christ is a winged figure of St. John the Baptist.[31] To Christ's right is the Virgin, shown in a three-quarter profile, looking at and gesturing toward her son. She is also dressed in royal garments, her crown resembling crowns represented on portraits of queens, as in the portrait of King's Milutin's wife, Simonis, in Gračanica.[32] Next to the Virgin David turns towards Christ, holding a now defaced scroll in his left hand. Like Christ and angels, David wears imperial garments and gestures toward Christ.

The identification of the textual source for the Royal Deesis has been a subject of scholarly debate. The most commonly cited text is Psalm 45, illustrated by the Royal Deesis in the Serbian Psalter. It is believed that the scene relates to the ninth verse of the Psalm, "The Queen of Heaven standing at Thy Right Hand," which is how the image has been referred to in earlier scholarship.[33] While accepting Psalm 45 as a source, G. Millet suggested that the scene may have been inspired by a sermon of Gregory Palamas that speaks about Christ as King, the Virgin as the Queen of Heaven, and the Heavenly Court. He connected the appearance of the Royal Deesis with Gregory Palamas and the Hesychast movement.[34] A. Xyngopoulos, who uses the term Heavenly Jerusalem for this scene, claims that the whole ensemble of figures was derived from a sermon by the Constantinopolitan Patriarch, Philotheos Kokkinos (1353–1354/1355; 1364–1376), a fervent follower of Palamas's teachings. The sermon describes a dream of Gregory Palamas about Christ as King surrounded by holy warriors in the heavenly court.[35]

Grigoriadou also accepts the influence of hesychastic literature on the formation of this scene when she identified Palamas's text as a source for the image of the Virgin as Queen, but he concluded that the scene emphasized the parallel between the royal and celestial court in which the images of Christ and the emperor were conceptually close.[36] This parallel has also been noted in earlier scholarship: P. Mijović goes so far as to explain the whole scene at Marko's monastery as an allegorical visual representation of the imperial *epithalamion*, a speech that celebrated royal marriage.[37]

Another group of scholars argues that the scene was inspired by the liturgy. L. Mirković, V. Djurić and C. Grozdanov suggested the Great Entrance as a source.[38] They identified the Cherubikon Hymn, with its emphasis on the coming of Jesus Christ the King, who will be sacrificed in glory, as the basis for the composition. Grozdanov provides the most comprehensive argument, maintaining that the basic idea of the scene is to show Christ as tsar who submits himself to Eucharistic sacrifice.[39] In post-Byzantine art, which adopts the medieval iconography of the scene, the Royal Deesis commonly includes the text from Psalm 92.[40] Djurić suggested that this Psalm may have provided the source for the medieval appearance of the scene as well.[41]

In the absence of a specific source, the complex combination of eschatological, liturgical, and triumphal aspects of the Royal Deesis will continue to intrigue scholars. We should note that, like the traditional Deesis itself, the meaning and significance of the Royal Deesis by and large depended on the context in which the scene was placed and on specific iconography that, as noted earlier, exhibited many variants. Thus we shall examine the processional, ceremonial character of the Royal Deesis in Marko's Monastery, as well as the parallel between the terrestrial and the celestial court in both the location and iconography of the scene.

The prominence given to King David in the Royal Deesis is significant (Figure 6.7). Although detached from Christ and placed to the west of the Virgin, David completes the central image of the Royal Deesis, while at the same time leading the procession of saints on the north wall. That procession becomes even more important since it also includes the members of the royal family, King Vukašin with his wife and King Marko (Figure 6.5). The prominence given to David within the procession recalls the important and highly unusual reference to the Old Testament king seen in the horn held by Marko on his portrait on the lunette above the south door discussed earlier. If the representation of the horn was a symbolic "visual manifestation of the divinely approved monarch,"[42] the physical presence of King David within a procession on the north wall at Marko's monastery provided a powerful illustration of the concept; especially so, since the scene on the north wall is what someone entering through the south door would see first.

The inclusion of the portraits of the kings in the Royal Deesis at Marko's monastery also contributes to establishing the parallel between the celestial and terrestrial rulers. The presence of the ktetor's family has been related to a special prayer read during the anointing rite at the coronation of Serbian kings. The prayer speaks of God, King of all kings, who had chosen Samuel to support David in destroying all enemies of the new sovereign and made his rule just and peaceful with the help of the Virgin, the emperor Constantine, and his mother Helen.[43] While the royal family is represented on the north wall of the narthex, the west wall of the narthex displays the full standing figures of the emperor Constantine I and Helen (Figure 6.5). Although they are shown as frontal, their position to the north of the west entrance may, at least conceptually, include them in the procession of saints and kings on the north wall, suggesting that they are marking the beginning of the royal sequence.

The parallel between terrestrial and heavenly courts is also evident in the wardrobe of the saints. In addition to lay garments, they also wear elaborate hats that—especially that of St. George (Figures 6.6–6.7)—reminds of the headgear of Theodore Metochites, a high court official, as represented in his portrait at Kariye Camii. Such hats, as well as ceremonial poles carried by the saints, were reserved for the highest court dignitaries at the time.[44]

Above all, the comparison between the terrestrial and heavenly ruler is made apparent in the spatial distribution of images across the naos. Located on the north wall and in the proximity of the iconostasis in the lowest zone of the naos, the central images of the Royal Deesis at Marko's monastery take the position of the traditional Deesis in Palaeologan churches in the region. Dressed in much more humble robes, the participants of the traditional Deesis were facing the patron saint across the naos. It appears that the scene in Marko's monastery adopted this formula, since it, too, communicates with images of saints represented on the opposite wall.

The procession of martyrs on the south wall, which in its eastward orientation and gesturing parallels the warriors on the north wall, terminates with the images of St. Demetrios and St. Nicholas (Figure 6.8). Thus, the traditional correlation between the Deesis and the patron saint has been preserved, since the image of John the Baptist faces Demetrios, the patron saint of the church, across the naos (Figures 6.7, 6.8). Also facing each other across the naos are the Virgin of the Deesis and Nicholas, a saint famous for his intercessory roles; like Demetrios, he flanks the south door.

Another significant spatial correlation is established between the figure of Christ the King and the ktetor's inscription painted across the nave and located above the south entrance at the eye level of the enthroned Christ. The content of the inscription provides a link between the text and the image it faces. The inscription, noted for its strong royal connotations, cites a number of Serbian kings and emphasizes that their good deeds were performed under the auspices of the celestial ruler. The link between the terrestrial and celestial ruler is visualized both by the location of enthroned Christ directly across from the inscription and by his secular, courtly attire that mimics the contemporary costume of the Byzantine emperor. Brought into the realm of the sacred space of the Byzantine church, the inscription itself was included in the message of the program.

The spatial distribution of images across the north–south axis provokes one more observation. The place across from Christ, while framed by the doorposts and defined by the royal inscription, is conspicuously empty, a notable void in the procession of saints who appear to be progressing toward the altar (Figures 6.8, 6.9). The absence of an image provides a noteworthy disturbance of the otherwise carefully planned, rhythmical and processional appearance of saints. One is left to wonder whether the royal presence, not in paint but in flesh and blood, was expected there. Was it a concept of presence, rather than a traditional image, that was intended to fill in the gap? The unusual iconography of the royal portraits on the exterior, the royal overtones of the ktetor's inscription and, above all, the iconography and spatial articulation of the interior program make such conclusion plausible.

If so, King Marko would have provided the missing link in the procession on the south wall (Figures 6.8, 6.9), standing between St. Nicholas and St. Demetrios. Placed slightly below the level of Christ, as is expected, Marko would nonetheless face him upon his entrance into the church, thus acting as a living icon, a real presence, and a real reflection of Christ, as discussed in the Mirror of Agapitos. Processing toward the altar with the choir of saints and placing his destiny in the divine realm, King Marko, expected if not present, would have projected the image of a perfect ruler at the time, recorded in texts and acted in real life.[45] Thus, it is plausible that Marko, shown in a historical portrait on the north wall and revealed as a divinely anointed and virtuous ruler above the south door, received yet another, notable presence in the

church, blurring the boundaries between virtual and real, and challenging our concept of display in Byzantium.

Studies of the programs of Byzantine monuments have been traditionally focused on their decorative aspects dealing with presence of either objects or icons. Considering the conceptual nature of Byzantine art, however, one is tempted to explore the meaning of non-decorated, empty spaces within the complex organism of a church, particularly when such spaces are framed and functional, as is the case with Marko's Monastery.

In conclusion, my hypothetical reconstruction of the program raises two significant points. First, it examines the boundaries of a definition of an image in Byzantium. It is my contention that the figure of Marko, in the flesh, expected though not depicted, completes the program of the lowest zone of the church. If so, we need to add another layer to the concept of display, presence, and realism of action contained within the complex organism of a Byzantine church. How broad was the definition of an image in Byzantium? What was the relationship between the real and the virtual? In analyzing the meaning of the programs of Byzantine churches, traditional scholarship commonly focuses on representational aspects. The presence of people, their actions and ceremonies are studied separately and rarely connected to the messages contained within the interior. Yet if we accept the notion that the church, in essence, is a "heaven on earth," then all of the components that it encloses—not only spaces and images, but people too—should be considered as integral elements of its meaning. Was empty space always understood as a void in the mind of a Byzantine beholder? The icon as a presence has long been discussed.[46] How about the concept of a presence as an icon?

Second, I wish to emphasize the need for the study of royal entrances in Byzantium. In the overwhelming absence of texts that give clear indication of the usage of doors, it appears that one must revert to a contextual analysis of images that includes both iconography and spatial correlations, as has been done with the Sicilian churches. The unusual royal portraits above the south door at Marko's Monastery may have signaled the important status of this entrance, as did the ktetor's inscription. However, the iconographic solutions and spatial articulation of the interior decoration of the edifice clarify the function of this door. The connected messages linking the exterior program of Marko's Monastery with its interior space challenge our scholarly, pedantic approach that too often separates the two faces of the Byzantine church. It is, however, in the programmatic synergy of interior and exterior that the function of this portal was revealed to the contemporary beholder.

Notes

1 S. Ćurčić, "Some Palatine Aspects of the Cappella Palatina in Palermo," *DOP* 41 (1987): 125–44. See also M. J. Johnson, "The Episcopal and Royal Views at Cefalù," *Gesta* 33/2 (1994): 118–31; and idem, "The Lost Royal Portraits of Gerace and Cefalù Cathedrals," *DOP* 53 (1999): 237–62.

2 C. Grozdanov and G. Subotić, "Crkva Svetog Djordja u Rečici kod Ohrida," *Zograf* 12 (1981): 62–77, especially 73 (with French summary).

3 I am grateful to Ljubomir Milovanović and Milica Bakić-Hayden for their help in translation of this inscription from Old Church Slavonic into English. For the text of the inscription in Old Church Slavonic and earlier bibliography, see C. Grozdanov, "Isus Hristos car nad carevima u živopisu Ohridske arhiepiskopije od XV do XVII veka," *Zograf* 27 (1998–1999): 151 (with English summary); Grozdanov and Subotić, "Crkva Svetog Djordja," 73; and Nada Nošpalj-Nikuljska, "Za ktitorskata kompozicija i natpisot vo Markoviot manastir-selo Sušica, Skopsko," *Glasnik na institutot za nacionalna istorija* 15 (1971): 225–35.

4 A small annex that enclosed the south door was added to the south façade of the church. Believed to be of a later date, it was demolished in the conservation work in 1963. In the absence of any serious excavation at the site, the date and function of this annex have not been determined. Z. Gavrilović "The Portrait of King Marko at Markov Manastir (1376–1381)," *ByzF* 16 (1990): 415–28, proposed that the annex may have served as a baptistery in the fourteenth century, based on a small baptismal font, dated by an inscription to 1393, found in the chapel. For a critique of this view, see O. Kandić, "Fonts for the Blessing of the Waters in Serbian Medieval Churches," *Zograf* 27 (1998–1999): 61–78; and I. Sinkević, "Western Chapels in Middle Byzantine Churches: Meaning and Significance," *Starinar* 52 (2003): 79–92.

5 For the text of the charters, see P. Ivić, V. Djurić, and S. Ćirković, *Esfigmenska povelja despota Djurdja* (Belgrade, 1989), fig. 32. For inscriptions accompanying saints, see Gavrilović, "Portrait of King Marko," 415–28.

6 For a discussion about this portrait and bibliography, see A. Eastmond, *Art and Identity in Thirteenth-Century Byzantium. Hagia Sophia and the Empire of Trebizond* (Aldershot, 2004), 140–41, fig. 96. For a revealing parallel between political circumstances surrounding Manuel I and King Marko, see V. J. Djurić, "Tri dogadjaja u srpskoj državi XIV veka i njihov odjek u slikarstvu," *ZbLikUmet* 4 (1968): 67–100; and idem, "Markov manastir-Ohrid," *ZbLikUmet* 8 (1972): 131–60 (with French summary).

7 For inscriptions, see Djurić, "Tri dogadjaja u srpskoj državi," 97–100; and Gavrilović, "Portrait of King Marko," 417–19.

8 First published by K. Balabanov, "Novootkriveni portreti kralja Marka i kralja Vukašina u Markovom manastiru," *Zograf* 1 (1966): 28–9; and idem, "Novootkrieni portreti na kralot Marko i kralot Volkašin vo Markoviot manastir," *Kulturno nasledstvo* 3 (1967): 47–65. See also S. Mandić, *Drevnik. Zapisi konzervatora* (Belgrade, 1975), 121–40.

9 Djurić, "Tri dogadjaja u srpskoj državi," 67–100; and idem, "Markov manastir-Ohrid," 131–60. For an earlier discussion about these images that does not dwell upon the horn but discusses the scene as an example of *Traditio legis*, see P. Mijović, "Carska ikonografija u srpskoj srednjovekovnoj umetnosti. II," *Starinar* 22 (1971): 82–92 (with French summary).

10 A. Eastmond suggests that "the horn must refer to the horn of anointment used by the prophet Samuel to consecrate David (1 Sam. 16.1–13), a scene which is frequently depicted in Byzantine Psalters as a sign of God's approval of David at the moment of his conversion from shepherd to King." For a discussion about the parallel between the emperor and David and earlier bibliography, see Eastmond, *Art and Identity*, 144–5.

11 I. M. Djordjević, "Predstava kralja Marka na južnoj fasadi crkve Svetog Dimitrija u Markovom manastiru," in *Kralot Marko vo istorijata i vo tradicijata. Prilozi od naučniot sobir održan po povod 600-godišnata od smrta na kralot Marko* (Prilep, 1997), 299–308 (with English summary).

12 S. Marjanović-Dušanić, "*Rex Imago Dei*: o srpskoj preradi Agapitovog vladarskog ogledala," in *Papers of the Third Yugoslav Byzantine Studies Conference (Kruševac 10–13 May, 2000)*, ed. Lj. Maksimović, N. Radošević, and E. Radulović (Belgrade, 2002), 135–48, especially 140–46 (with French summary).

13 *ODB* 2: 34, "Agapetos."

14 Gavrilović, "Portrait of King Marko," 415–28.

15 Ibid., quote on p. 427. In the absence of archaeological evidence for a baptistery, Gavrilović's associations between the images and the rite of baptism remain problematic.

16 See C. Walter, "The Significance of Unction in Byzantine Iconography," *BMGS* 2 (1976): 53–73; D. M. Nicol, "Kaiseralbung. The Unction of Emperors in Late Byzantine Coronation Ritual," *BMGS* 2 (1976): 37–52; and F. E. Brightman, "Byzantine Imperial Coronations," *JTS* 2 (1901): 359–92.

17 For bibliography, see V. Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken in Jugoslawien* (Munich, 1976), 119–24. See also R. Hamann-MacLean, *Grundlegung zu einer Geschichte der mittelalterlichen Monumentalmalerei in Serbien und Makedonien* (Giessen, 1976), 154–5; C. Grozdanov, "Novootkrivene kompozicije Bogorodičinog akatista u Markovom manastiru," *Zograf* 9 (1978): 38–42 (with French summary); idem, "Iz ikonografije Markovog manastira," *Zograf* 11 (1980): 83–95 (with French summary); idem, "Isus Hristos car nad carevima u živopisu Ohridske arhiepiskopije od XV do XVII veka," *Zograf* 27 (1988–1999): 151–60 (with French summary); A. Pätzold, *Der Akathistos-Hymnos: Die Bilderzyklen in der byzantinischen Wandmalerei des 14. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart, 1989), 15–16, 40–43; and N. P. Ševčenko, "Icons in the Liturgy," *DOP* 45 (1991): 45–57.

18 For a discussion on the placement and iconography of the Divine Liturgy in Marko's Monastery, see L. Mirković and Ž. Tatić, *Markov Manastir* (Novi Sad, 1925), 31–4; Hamann-MacLean, *Grundlegung*, 154–5; and Grozdanov, "Iz ikonografije Markovog manastira," 84–7.

19 For bibliography, identification of the scenes, and discussion about Akathistos cycle in Marko's Monastery, see Grozdanov, "Novootkrivene kompozicije Bogorodičinog Akatista," 37–42; Pätzold, *Der Akathistos-Hymnos*, 15–16, 40–43; and Ševčenko, "Icons in the Liturgy," 45–57.

20 For early identification of figures as laypeople, see S. Radojčić, "Freske Markovog manastira i život sv. Vasilija Novog," *ZRVI* 4 (1956): 215–25.

21 Grozdanov, "Iz ikonografije Markovog manastira," 84–7, with earlier bibliography.

22 For a discussion and bibliography, see Grozdanov, "Isus Hristos car nad carevima," 151–3.

23 C. Grozdanov, *Ohridsko zidno slikarstvo XIV veka* (Belgrade, 1980), 106–9 (with French summary); and idem, "Hristos car, Bogorodica carica, nebesnite sili i svetite voini vo živopisot od XIV I XV vek vo Treskavec," *Kulturno nasledstvo* 12–13 (1985–86): 5–20 (with English summary).

24 The eparchy of Verroia was intermittently under the auspices of the metropolitan of Thessalonike. For the icon see Th. Papazotos, *Byzantine Icons from Verroia* (Athens, 1995), 57, fig. 76; the Serbian Psalter was believed to have been produced in the region of Skopje; see S. Radojčić, "Der Stil der Miniaturen und die Künstler," in *Der Serbische Psalter. Faksimile-Ausgabe des Cod. Slav. 4 der bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München*, ed. H. Belting (Wiesbaden, 1978), 271–98; S. Dufrenne, "Die Psalmen," in *Der Serbische Psalter. Faksimile-Ausgabe des Cod. Slav. 4 der bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München*, ed. H. Belting (Wiesbaden, 1978), 203–5; and J. Strzygowski, *Die Miniaturen des serbischen Psalters der Königl. Hof und Staatsbibliothek in München* (Vienna, 1906), 30, fig. 14.

25 For Kovalyovo, see V. Lazarev, *Old Russian Murals and Mosaics: from the XI to the XVI Century* (London, 1966), 173, 262 (with bibliography); for the icon, see T. V. Tolstaya, *The Assumption Cathedral of the Moscow Kremlin* (Moscow, 1979), fig. 79.

26 See Grozdanov, "Hristos car, Bogorodica carica," figs. 1–11.

27 See Grozdanov, *Ohridsko zidno slikarstvo*, 107, fig. 27.

28 See S. Pelekanides and M. Chadzidakis, *Kastoria* (Athens, 1985), 108, 118, figs. 12, 13.

29 Grozdanov, *Ohridsko zidno slikarstvo*, 107, fig. 27.

30 For a discussion on the garments of emperors as represented in art (with bibliography), see Eastmond, *Art and Identity*, 142–4.

31 For the significance of the winged figure of St. John, see M. Tatić-Djurić, "Ikona Jovana Krilatog iz Dečana," *Zbornik narodnog muzeja* 7 (1973): 39–51.

32 For Gračanica, see B. Todić, *Gračanica. Slikarstvo* (Priština, 1988), fig. 105; for other examples and a discussion, see L. Grigoriadou, "L'image de la Déesis royale dans une fresque du XIV^{e} siècle à Castoria," *CEB* 14 (Bucharest, 1975), 2: 50.

33 For a discussion and bibliography, see see Grozdanov, "Isus Hristos car nad carevima," 151–3.

34 G. Millet, "Byzance et non l'Orient," *RA* 11 (1908): 180–81. C. Grozdanov (personal communication) brought to our attention that the earliest appearance of this scene in Treskavec predates the victory of Hesychasm.

35 A. Xyngopoulos, "Ἅγιος Δημήτριος ο Μέγας δουξ ο Απόκαυκος," *Hellenika* 15 (1957): 122–40.

36 Grigoriadou, "L'image de la Déesis royale," 43.

37 An *epithalamion* was written in both prose and verse, not only for royalty. P. Mijović, "Carska ikonografija u srpskoj srednjovekovnoj umetnosti," *Starinar* 18 (1968): 103–18, saw the images in Marko's Monastery and at Treskavec, as alluding to a royal *epithalamion*. As Mijović was solely concerned with the ceremonial interpretation of the scene and did not take into account liturgical and dogmatic aspects, his views have been challenged: see Grozdanov, "Hristos car, Bogorodica carica," 5–20; ibid, "Isus Hristos car nad carevima," 151–60. While not exclusively ceremonial, the scene appears to allude to a royal ceremony both in the arrangement of figures and in their dress. Like most of the decoration in the church, this representation appears polyvalent in its meaning.

38 Grozdanov, "Hristos car, Bogorodica carica," 5–20; ibid., "Isus Hristos car nad carevima," 151–60; Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 80–83; and L. Mirković, "Da li se freske Markovog manastira mogu tumačiti Žitijem sv. Vasilija Novog," *Starinar* 12 (1961): 77–88, a response to Radojčić's claim that the Royal Deesis in Marko's Monastery is an illustration of the *Vita* of St. Basil; see Radojčić, "Freske Markovog manastira i život Sv. Vasilija Novog," 215–25.

39 Grozdanov, "Hristos car, Bogorodica carica," 5–20; and ibid., "Isus Hristos car nad carevima," 151–60.

40 Grozdanov, "Isus Hristos car nad carevima," 151–60.

41 Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 81. We should note that this Psalm is not inscribed in any of the surviving fourteenth-century renditions of the scene.

42 Eastmond, *Art and Identity*, 145.

43 See Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 81.

44 For other parallels and a discussion, see Grigoriadou, "L'image de la Déesis royale," 42–52.

45 While the proposed location of the figure of King Marko directly across from Christ the King draws a parallel between the terrestrial and the celestial ruler, his possible inclusion into the procession of saints further emphasizes the attributes of purity, piety, and philanthropy, inherent in the concept of a saint and important for an image of a contemporary ruler. For a discussion about the attributes and the demeanor of an ideal ruler at the time, see Marjanović-Dušanić, "*Rex Imago Dei*," 135–48.

46 The literature on display, perception, and reception of Byzantine icons is vast. Some pivotal studies on the topic include but are by no means limited to H. Belting, *Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image before the Era of Art*, trans. E. Jephcott (Chicago, 1994); R. Cormack, *Writing in Gold: Byzantine Society and its Icons* (London, 1985); R. Ousterhout and L. Brubaker, eds, *The Sacred Image East and West* (Urbana, IL, 1995); and B. V. Pentcheva, *Icons and Power: The Mother of God in Byzantium* (University Park, PA, 2006).

7

The Rose Window: A Feature of Byzantine Architecture?

Jelena Trkulja

Architectural styles are defined by certain paradigmatic features, such as the Islamic muqarnas, the Classical pediment, and the Gothic rose window. These emblematic elements are frequent signifiers of their respective architectural styles. The rose window, an ocular opening decorated by carved stone tracery, has traditionally been understood as a hallmark of the Gothic style—created during its formative stage and hence exclusive to it. The possibility that the rose window was also present in Byzantine architecture or other contexts has, to my knowledge, not been discussed in the literature. When examples of tracery-decorated round openings have been encountered in Byzantine monuments—as for example, the dilapidated rose window in the tower of the Peribleptos Monastery in Mistra, with its European patrons and artisans—they have been explained as isolated examples of Western influence. This chapter seeks to explicate the appearance of the rose window in Byzantine ecclesiastical architecture as a phenomenon distinct from its Gothic counterparts.

It should be stated at the outset that rosettes with stone-carved tracery cannot be found in any of the churches or secular buildings belonging to Byzantine ecclesiastical architecture proper. The one exception to this is a *spolium* from Mistra that reveals a typical perforated stone-carved rose window with latticework; however, its original location and date are unknown.[1] Not a single church built on the territory of the Eastern Roman Empire from the sixth through the fifteenth century boasts a true oculus decorated with stone tracery. The starting point for this discussion then—and indeed the motivation for considering the possibility of the rose window in Byzantine architecture in the first place—is provided by a group of seemingly remote ecclesiastical monuments known collectively as the "Morava School."[2]

The churches belonging to this group, named after the eponymous river basin in central Serbia where most of them are situated, were erected during the last quarter of the fourteenth and the first quarter of the fifteenth centuries (Figure 7.1). The connection between these monuments and Late Byzantine architecture is not as tenuous it may first seem. While politically independent at this point in time, Serbia maintained close cultural and artistic connections with Byzantium.

Figure 7.1 Kalenić Monastery, Church of the Presentation of the Holy Virgin. Exterior from south (photo: author).

The Morava churches display numerous elements of Palaiologan architecture, specifically Constantinopolitan features, such as *opus listatum* as the dominant building technique, engaged colonettes sunk into multi-stepped pilaster strips, engaged colonettes used in combination with semicircular niches, niches flanking portals, multi-stepped blind arches, profiled stone stringcourses, quatrefoil ceramoplastic vessels used for delineating circular openings and archivolts, and dogtooth friezes limited to the eaves of roofs. Even the absence of some typical Byzantine features that do not appear in the capital but are common elsewhere, such as the use of specially-carved bricks and a penchant for covering whole surfaces with patterns derived by them, might lead us to suppose that the novel feature of the rose window could also be interpreted as deriving from the same source—that is, from the architecture in the Palaiologan capital. In contrast to Serbian frescoes, frequently executed by identifiable Greek artists, the Morava churches were erected by unknown master builders. Isolated evidence that the builders were locals, or at least of Slavic origin and not Byzantine, is attested by an inscription from Ljubostinja monastery (ca. 1381–1388), which mentions certain *protomaistor* Rade Borović, whom some scholars have attempted to link to family of builders active around the Adriatic Littoral.[3]

Of over a hundred churches belonging to the Morava group, only a handful possesses rose windows. Not surprisingly, these are the more lavishly decorated and more architecturally significant buildings of the group. Importantly, even the earliest of them—such as Lazarica (ca. 1377–1380)—display fully developed ocular openings with perforated floral tracery (Figure 7.2). In all instances, the rose windows are carved out of a single stone block or, in the larger ones, out of two semicircular pieces fitted to form a full circle. This contrasts sharply with Western construction practices.

The group's decorative vocabulary includes 18 different latticework patterns, including complex geometric and vegetal motifs, and in each of the monuments several of these patterns are used for forming discrete sets of decoration.[4] It is significant that the early examples from the 1370s, as the last ones from the 1420s, display the same array of patterns, testifying to a well-defined ornamental vocabulary that existed from the start and did not undergo major changes.

The rose windows appears as fully developed forms, yet no forerunners for them have been found in earlier Serbian architecture. This fact has led many scholars to speculate that they were imported directly from the West by way of the Adriatic Littoral; however, no examples with similar tracery patterns have been found on the Apennine Peninsula or farther to the north or west.[5] Suggestions have also been made for possible Eastern sources, such as the carved medallions common in Georgian and Armenian churches, and similar features in Islamic architecture.[6]

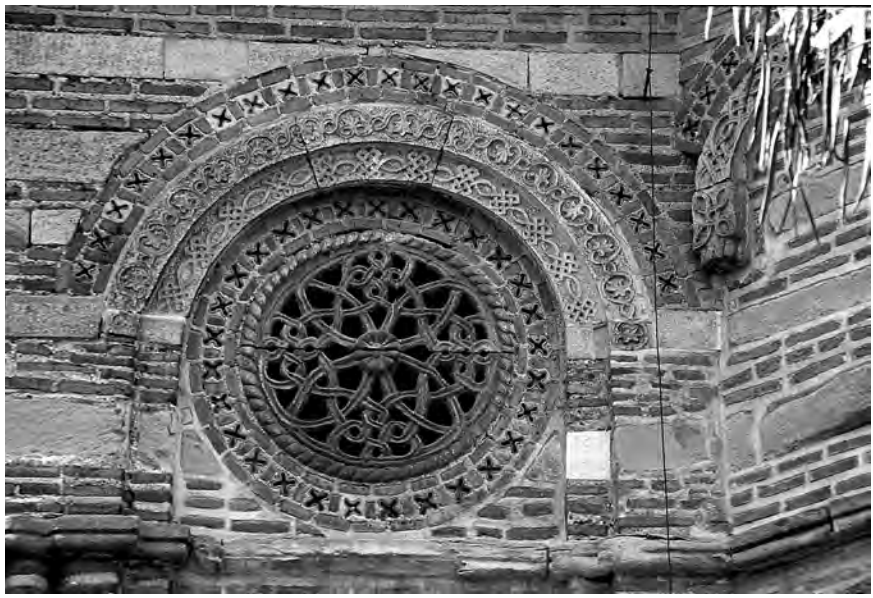


Figure 7.2 Kruševac, Lazarica Monastery, Church of St. Stephen. North façade (photo: author).

The possible emergence of the Morava rose windows from developments within Byzantine architecture has not been explored, mainly because earlier scholarship either overstated the Morava School's indigenous character, or else employed a primarily formalist methodology to find its roots in various places—from Transcaucasia to the Medieval West. Specifically, rose windows were cited as evidence of the links between these disparate geographic regions and their building traditions, but no definitive proof of any such connection was ever found. The origins of the Morava School have been subject of debate ever since the churches caught the attention of scholars in the nineteenth century.[7]

Most recent studies have examined the origin of the Morava style in light of previous developments in Serbian medieval architecture, inevitably leading to the conclusion that it was part of the mainstream of Late Byzantine architecture.[8] Even those who view Byzantine architecture as the ultimate source of the Morava style have not explored the possibility that rose windows, like all the other aspects of its architecture, were also products of the same development.[9] In other words, because of the lack of exact comparisons, the rose window appears to represent the single architectural feature that does not indicate that Morava style emerged out of the Palaiologan building tradition. All the other elements of construction and decoration speak in favor of the connection.

Taking the dependence of the Morava School on Byzantine architectural currents of the Palaiologan period as a given, we shall argue that the distinctive windows emerge from the conflation of two elements already present in Byzantine architecture—the oculus and ceramoplastic medallions. In the course of the Palaiologan era, the symbiosis of the two produced a fully formed rose window, for which Morava School examples are the sole surviving witnesses. We shall also see that a progenitor of the rose window—whether as an oculus or as a non-perforated decorative disc—was brought to the fore by the revival of Late Antique forms during the Palaiologan Renaissance.

The oculus was a feature of Roman architecture, but it underwent numerous transformations and revivals in the course of the Middle Ages in Western Europe, Byzantium, and even in the Islamic East. Any one of these three major building traditions could have provided a model for the development of the Morava-type window. During the twelfth-century birth of the Gothic style in the West, the oculus was transformed from a Romanesque roundel into a true rose window with the application of elaborate tracery, as at Saint-Étienne of Beauvais (1130–1140), and Saint-Denis (1130–1144). The reasons for the creation of this new form remain unknown.[10]

More important for our discussion, the Moravan rose window has been seen as deriving from the Gothic, transmitted from Italy through the Adriatic Littoral. Apulia had strong cultural ties with the eastern coast of the Adriatic, which itself had close ties with Serbia. Dubrovnik, Kotor, and other coastal towns traded extensively with the Balkan interior. These economic routes were used by a variety of professionals, undoubtedly builders and artists among them. The famous case of the master builder of the Dečani monastery, Fra Vito, a Franciscan friar from Kotor, illustrates the mobility of skilled builders.[11]

The examples of Apulian rose windows differ significantly from the idiosyncratic interlace patterns prevalent in Morava. Moreover, the Apulian churches usually feature a single large window on the western façade, as at the cathedrals at Trani, Ruvo di Puglia, Barletta, and Molfetta. In contrast, the Morava churches have rose windows on all four façades, with more than one appearing on the lateral facades, adapted to the rhythm of the arcading. In Apulia, rose windows are occasionally found on the transept façades, and an oculus sometimes appears on the east façade, but rose windows are usually reserved for the west façade.

The differences are further manifest in the interior. While Gothic windows by the virtue of their sheer size dominate the interior, their Morava counterparts remain relatively small and most likely did not include figural imagery; they are thus not comparable to brightly colored and painted Gothic glass. The narrow openings of the latticework were most probably fitted with transparent or monochromatic glass, such as the examples found in earlier Serbian and Byzantine window. Glass from this period was about 5 mm thick, full of air bubbles, not particularly transparent, and with surfaces that were

neither smooth nor flat. Light coming through this glass would have been insignificant for the illumination of the building. Moreover, the Moravan windows were not integrated with the decorative programs of the interior. For example, in the *katholikon* of Kalenić Monastery, the pictorial program accommodates the circular opening, but the images show no formal or iconographic relationship to it. It is safe to assume that the rose windows were conceived as decoration for the exterior and, apart from letting a modest amount of light inside, played no semiotic role in the construction of the sacred space of the interior.

Islamic sources have also been suggested for the Morava windows.[12] Islamic architecture is rich in round, decorated openings with variety of stone-carved patterns, as well as in non-perforated stone medallions. The famous example from Khirbat al-Mafjar in Palestine consists of a voluminous starlike shape inserted into the circular opening, which may also derive from the Late Antique oculus. Oculi appear in later Islamic monuments as well but are usually smaller in size and employ different latticework patterns. More common in Islamic buildings are nonperforated decorative discs, which appear in prominent locations on exterior walls. Like the rose windows, they are most frequently carved of stone and display low relief patterns similar to the latticework of the windows. Sometimes they are placed centrally, underneath an arch or in a conch—in positions similar to those of the Morava rosettes and to ceramoplastic discs on Byzantine façades—as on the al-Aqmar Mosque in Cairo (built in 1125).[13]

The oculus has a long history in the architecture of the Byzantine Empire. During the fifth and sixth centuries, it was applied to buildings in Syria.[14] It appears again in the tenth century, apparently as a part of the revival of Late Antique art. At the Myrelaion Church (modern Bodrum Camii) in Constantinople, constructed ca. 920, two round openings appear above the stringcourse on both lateral façades, within bays defined by semicylindrical buttresses. Elsewhere on the building, semicircular thermal windows appear in similar positions. These elements reveal the revivalist tendencies of the design, while the positions of the oculi can be compared to those of rosettes on Morava churches.

In the course of the tenth and eleventh centuries similar discs made of bricks, mortar, and occasionally stone appear on church exteriors, although not as windows. The transformation of the oculus into a surface pattern is already perceptible on the North Church of the Monastery of Constantine Lips in Constantinople (modern Fenari Isa Camii), dedicated in 907, where the round opening is recessed from the surface of the wall, and its frame is larger and more visible than its perforated center. Its size is diminutive when compared to the oculi on Myrelaion, which were clearly employed as round windows and not as decorative façade ornaments. On the exterior of Christ Pantepoptes Church (modern Eski Imaret Camii) in Constantinople (ca. 1081–1087), brick

discs with floral or cruciform patterns are arranged almost randomly across the south façade. They are neither centrally set, nor symmetrically organized. On the south façade of the *katholikon* of the Nea Moni Monastery on Chios (1042–1052) (Figure 7.3), the ornament is constructed of radially placed bricks, without the circular frame, looking like sunrays.[15] Set into the lunette, it is similarly positioned as the oculus at the Myrelaion. Both eleventh-century examples remind us of oculi, but they have been translated into independent ornaments.

The transformation of an architectural element into a decorative surface pattern fits well with the decorative trend in architecture that began in the Komnenian era and reached its height during the Palaiologan era. During the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries, church façades became replete with disc-shaped ornaments. At the twelfth-century Church of the Dormition of the Virgin (popularly known as Palaeopanagia) at Manolada in Elis, the three-sided apse contains a large, three-light window on its central face, and two narrower, two-light windows on its lateral faces. Above each of these windows is a single large ceramoplastic disc. A dogtooth frieze frames each lunette, and dogtooth also encircles the discs. At the thirteenth-century church of Panagia Sikelia near the village of Exo Didyma on Chios, a blind arcade articulates the south façade (Figure 7.4). The main bay, aligned with the dome, is taller and wider that the others and is distinguished by a large disc in the lunette, similar to that at Nea Moni. The disc is framed by glazed ceramoplastic rosettes, which are also used for the cross within the disc.[16]

Figure 7.3 Chios, Nea Moni. *Katholikon*. South façade (photo: author).

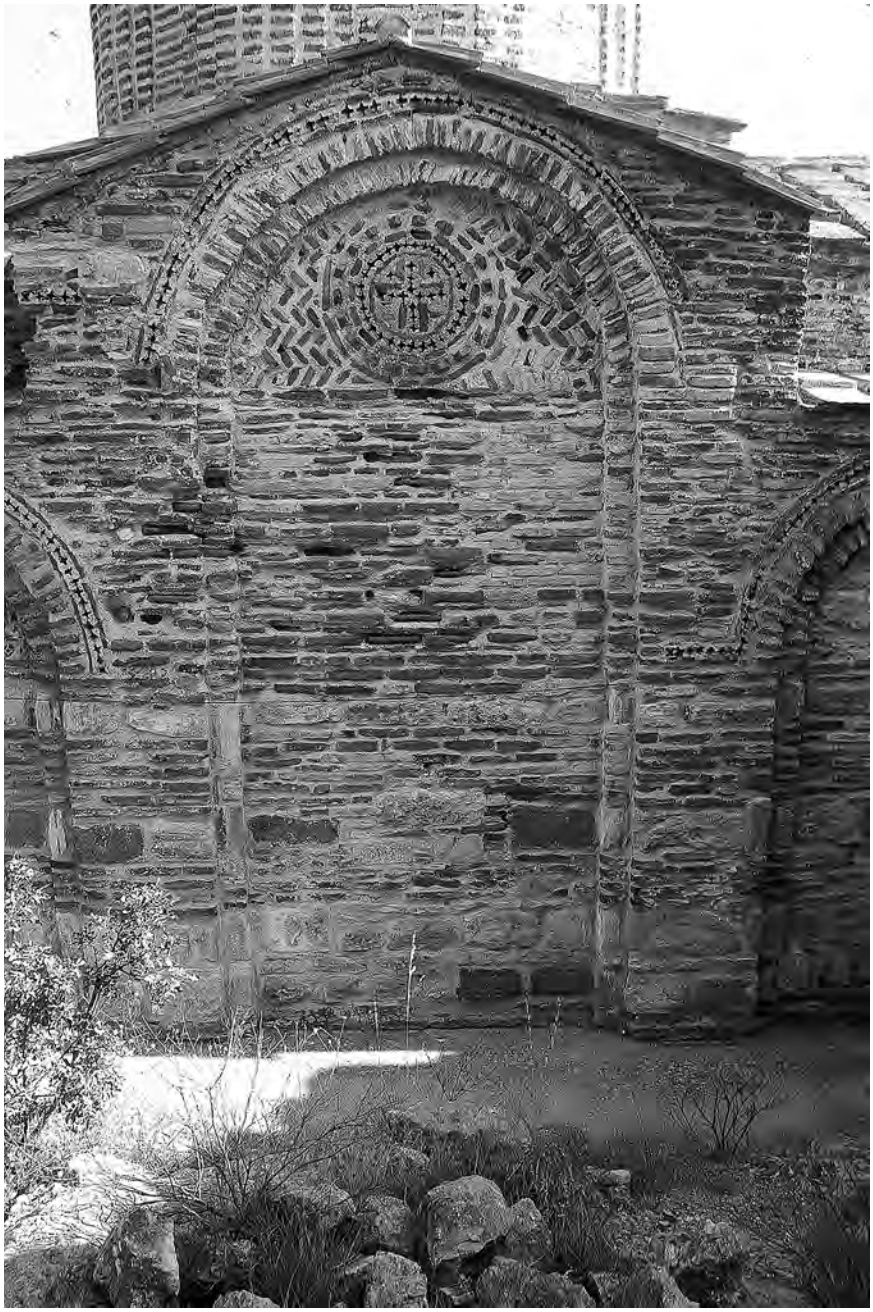


Figure 7.4 Chios, Exo Didyma, Panagia Sikelia. South façade (photo: author).

These rosettes appear almost exclusively in Serbian, Bulgarian, and Byzantine monuments, as at H. Anargyroi in Kastoria; Panagia Sikelia, Panagia Krina, and H. Apostoloi on Chios; Panagia Parigoritissa in Arta; the Tekfur Saray in Constantinople; and Panagia Pantanassa and Panagia Perivleptos in Mistra.[17] The location, size, and use of rosettes relate the Panagia Sikelia roundel to the Morava windows. Even the motifs are comparable. The prominent cross might be seen as the simple forerunner of the cross motifs concealed within the profuse tracery of the rose windows on churches, as for example at Lazarica (Figure 7.2). A similar example of a cross may be seen on the late twelfth-century church of Panagia Krina on Chios.

In the course of the thirteenth century, circular ornaments became common across the Byzantine territory. As a rule, they were placed within the lunettes of the façade. At Church No. 4 at Latmos (modern Bafa Lake in southwestern Turkey), a sun disc, originally with a ceramic bowl at its center, is located in the lunette under the blind arch framing the bifora window (Figure 7.5). It compares favorably to the examples from Manolada and Panagia Sikelia. Another example of a large brick-framed medallion situated above the window and framed by an archivolt can be seen at Latmos Church 8.[18] In Arta, similar façade designs can be observed. The Church of H. Nikolaos tes Rhodias displays sun discs under the lunettes of the blind arcade articulating the dome. In the center of each disc is a lightly concave surface, an impression probably left from an inserted ceramic bowl.[19]

Figure 7.5 Latmos, Church no. 4. Sun disc (photo: author).

By the fourteenth century sun discs were widespread. Their increasing numbers and apparent popularity led to the proliferation of other types of circular ornaments, such as the whirling disc or a disc with the cross pattern hidden within it. Examples of the former type can be seen lining the apse of the South Church of Constantine Lips in Constantinople (1282–1304). We also see it on the south façade of the parekklesion of the Pammakaristos (modern Fethiye Camii) in Constantinople (ca. 1315). Two concave discs formed by brick and stone fragments resemble medallions with a cross pattern. The discs are carefully arranged to flank a large three-light window.

Similar use of sun discs can be seen on the walls of the Holy Apostles in Thessalonike (1310–1314), where they are relatively small and situated within blind arcades flanking narrow windows. A more characteristic usage may be seen in Mesembria (modern Nessebar, Bulgaria), where the Church of St. John Aleiturgitos displays a sun disc in a lunette comparable to that on Church No. 4 at Latmos. Since both the Latmos and Mesembrian churches were closely associated with Constantinopolitan architecture, it is reasonable to assume that the appearance and position of the ornaments follows a design principle operative in the capital.

Figure 7.6 Skopje (near), Marko's Monastery, Church of St. Demetrios. North façade, central lunette with oculus (photo: author).

The combination of circular ornament placed at the center of a lunette continued to be used by architects working in Serbia in the last quarter of the thirteenth and in the first three-quarters of the fourteenth century, the so-called Serbo-Byzantine School, corresponding to the reigns of Stefan Uroš II Milutin (r. 1282–1321) and his successors, Stefan Uroš III Dečanski (r. 1321–1331), Stefan Uroš IV Dušan (r. 1331–1355), and Stefan Uroš V (r. 1355–1371). The articulating schemes and decoration of façades follow Byzantine, and especially Constantinopolitan architectural trends. However, instead of sun discs, whirling discs, and discs with crosses, the lunettes are more often provided with an oculus. An exception to this is the Church of St. George at Pološko (before 1340), which has sun discs in lunettes. The Church of St. Archangel Michael at Lesnovo (1341) also displays a type of a sun disc with a circular depression in the middle.

On the church of Marko's Monastery near Skopje (1346–1371), an oculus appears in the central lunette of the north façade (Figure 7.6). Like the sun discs, it is framed by radial bricks, an implied sun disc. It appears as if the sun disc was transmuted into an oculus. Following this line of thinking, the Roman oculus, transformed into a two-dimensional pattern for much of Byzantine history, is brought back towards the very end of the Empire.

Figure 7.7 Treska, St. Nicholas Šiševski. Narthex, oculus (photo: author).

Round windows of various sizes, apparently without any latticework, are especially common in churches erected during the second and third quarters of the fourteenth century. Comparable to the example from Marko's Monastery, centrally placed oculi appear on Holy Archangels in Kučeviste (variously dated from the 1320s to the second half of the fourteenth century), St. Nicholas at Ljuboten (1337), St. Nicholas Šiševski on Treska (ca. 1338), Matejić Monastery (ca. 1355), and St. Andrew Monastery at Matka (1368–1369). The buildings in question feature one or more oculi, prominently occupying the upper registers of the façade, and almost always in the crossarm lunette. Some of the frames of the oculi are decorated with ornamental motifs found on Morava rose windows.

The oculus on the narthex of the church of St. Nicholas Šiševski is set within a rectangular frame made of a single piece of stone with decoration executed in low relief (Figure 7.7). The opening is outlined by a cable motif, the standard framing device of Morava windows. This motif, which stems from Classical decorative vocabulary, was occasionally present on the façades of Late Byzantine churches, where it was executed using specially carved bricks, as at Omorphoklisia at Galista, and Tourkopalouko at Kypseli. Most probably, its appearance in stone was due to the revival of sculpture in the Palaiologan period.[20] The vegetal and zoomorphic imagery surrounding the opening are also similar to the later relief sculpture of Morava churches. An even more convincing connection is provided by the Church of the Holy Archangels in Kučevište, where an oculus appears on the south façade in the lunette of the crossarm (Figure 7.8). The opening is surrounded by ceramoplastic rosettes, a feature common in the later Morava windows, where they surround a carved cable motif. Oculi surrounded by quatrefoils can be viewed as experiments leading to the formation of the Morava-type window.

Another useful example of an ocular opening framed by ceramoplastic rosettes can be seen on the Late Byzantine palace known as the Tekfur Saray in Constantinople (Figure 7.9).[21] While this monument cannot be dated precisely, it affirms that the oculus framed with ceramoplastic rosettes was known in the Byzantine capital prior to its appearance in the Morava School churches. We may argue that Serbian architects looked to the Byzantine capital for influence.

The combination of framing devices that appears at St. Nicholas Šiševski seems to have led to the double framing of Morava windows. In terms of architectural types, overall decoration of the façades, and other formal aspects of architectural design, the Serbo-Byzantine School anticipates most of the stylistic characteristics of the Morava School. Similarly, Its exterior articulation and use of oculi represent an intermediary phase leading to the formation of the rose window. What prompted the transformation of the sun disc into the round window? The sun disc was part of the decorative vocabulary of Late Byzantine architecture, while the oculus was a feature of Roman and

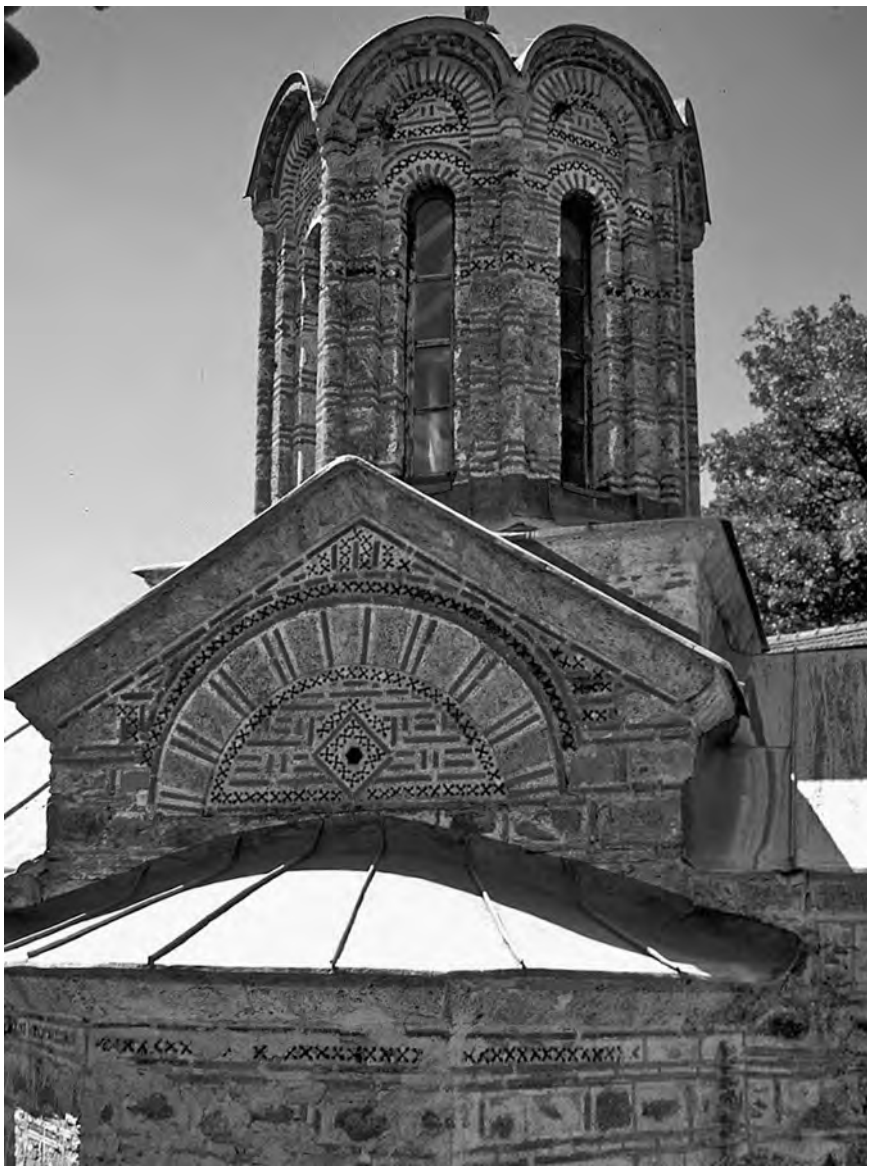


Figure 7.8 Kučevište, Church of the Holy Archangels. South façade (photo: author).

Late Antique architecture. Its reappearance may be attributed to the revivalist tendencies in Palaiologan Constantinople, a last attempt at connecting with its more illustrious past. The similar placement of Byzantine sun discs, Serbo-Byzantine oculi, and Morava rose windows speaks in favor of a common development. All of these elements are found high on the central sections of the façades, frequently framed by an archivolt or arch. They belong to the shared architectural vocabulary of Roman and Byzantine architecture.

The contention that Byzantine oculi and ceramoplastic discs are the ultimate forerunners of Morava windows may be supported by the example of the exonarthex of Hilandar Monastery on Mount Athos (Figure 7.10). A later addition to the *katholikon* of 1303, which was sponsored by Serbian King Milutin, the exonarthex has been dated—primarily because of its colorful decoration and painted ornament—to the 1380s, contemporary with the early Morava churches. It has been credited to Prince Lazar Hrebeljanović, a feudal lord who seized power over Serbian lands after the demise of the last member of the royal Nemanjić family in 1371.[22] However, Slobodan Ćurčić now places its construction in the mid-fourteenth century, in the time of Tsar Stefan Uroš IV Dušan (r. 1331–1355).[23] As Ćurčić's convincing argument suggests, the exonarthex may be the first building on which the main characteristics of the Morava style are exhibited.

Figure 7.9 Constantinople (Istanbul), Tekfur Saray. North façade, detail (photo: author).

Figure 7.10 Mt. Athos, Hilandar Monastery, *katholikon*. Exonarthex, north façade (photo: D. Krstic).

It is worth noting that the influence of Constantinopolitan arcnhitecture began to be felt in Serbian architecture during the 1330s, exactly when the first round windows appear, during the reign of Dušan. His ambitions to become the successor of the Byzantine Emperors were fulfilled in 1346, when he was crowned the "Tsar of All Serbs and Greeks." His imperial aspirations found physical expression in architectural projects, such as the monastic complex of the Holy Archangels near Prizren (1347–1352).[24] As the patron of the exonarthex at Hilandar, he would have attempted to use an architectural vocabulary to convey his imperial status—that is, he would look to the architecture of the Byzantine capital as the model. Indeed, the combination of stone carved, ceramoplastic, and painted decoration relate the Hilandar exonarthex to the combination of decorative and revivalist trends that dominated in the capital. The *opus listatum* building technique, decorative patterning, and large windows find good Constantinopolitan parallels. The use of sculptural reliefs to outline window frames may be related to the Palaiologan revival of sculpture, but the most dominant decorative feature—a low relief medallion with radiating arms crowned by leaf-like endings—seems to be an elaboration of the well-known Byzantine sun disc motif. Its placement and simple shape correspond as well. Moreover, the medallion is not perforated. In other words, the exonarthex displays a combination of features borrowed from metropolitan architecture, apparently with specific intention of relating it (and its patron) to the Constantinopolitan tradition. Thus we can see the style of Morava architecture may be more closely related to Constantinople than previously assumed.

In conclusion, I have argued that the rose window evolved from the oculus, a feature that appeared in Byzantine revivals of Late Antique architectural style, most notably in the tenth and fourteenth centuries. In other periods, the oculus is echoed in the form of round ornaments often placed in similar locations. Since the revivalist tendencies were stronger in metropolitan than in provincial architecture, oculi were encountered more frequently in Constantinople and areas under its influence. Although it remains unclear what inspired Serbian builders to transform the oculus into a rose window, the evolutionary connection between the two is evident. Perhaps enthusiasm for sculptural decoration inspired them to use the oculus as a frame for interlace motifs. Certainly the interlace patterns appear more striking against the dark background of the opening than on the low relief. The round window, set within the lunette and framed by ceramoplastic decoration, was already part of the Byzantine architectural tradition, and the addition of the latticework may have been just another step in the Late Byzantine trend toward increasingly ornamental façades.

Acknowledgments

It is a pleasure to dedicate this study as a tribute to Slobodan Ćurčić, whom I am privileged to know as a student and friend. The chapter revisits a subject that we first discussed together in my student days and which he encouraged me to pursue.

Notes

1 See Lj. Karaman, "Dva srednjobizantijska ulomka skulpture XII. stoljeća iz Dalmacije," *Zbornik za umetnostno zgodovino (Archives d'historie de l'art)* n.v. letnik 5–6 (1959): 177–83, fig. 81.

2 Although used in scholarship for decades, the term "School" is rather imprecise and misleading. Gabriel Millet coined the term to distinguish the major styles of Greek and Serbian medieval architecture; G. Millet, *L'école grecque* (Paris, 1916); idem, *L'ancien art serbe. Les églises* (Paris, 1919), 152–9. For the most recent critique of Millet's method, see: V. Ristić, *Moravska arhitektura* (Kruševac, 1996), 11–22.

3 See S. Đurić, *Ljubostinja, Crkva Uspenja Bogorodičinog* (Belgrade, 1985), 44–5.

4 For the classification of the rose windows' latticework patterns, see J. Trkulja, "Aesthetics and Symbolism of Late Byzantine Church Façades, 1204–1453," Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton University, 2004, Appendix C, 251–3.

5 P. Cowen, *Rose Windows* (London, 1992), 33–8; H. G. Franz, "Les fenetres circulaires de la cathédrale de Cefalù et le problème de l'origine de la 'rose' du Moyen âge," *CahArch* 9 (1957): 253–70; idem, "Neue Funde zur Geschichte des Glasfensters," *Forschungen und Fortschritte* 29 (1955): 306–9. For the primary sources on symbolism of rose windows in the West, see: T. Frisch, ed., *Gothic Art 1140–ca. 1450: Sources and Documents* (Toronto, 1987), 36.

6 J. A. Hamilton, *Byzantine Architecture* (London, 1933), 220–21; V. Petković, *Manastir Ravanica* (Belgrade, 1922), 35–40; Ž. Tatić, *Manastir Kalenić*, (Belgrade, 1928), 50–51; L. Brehier, *Les vielles églises serbes. Impressions de voyage d'un congressiste* (Zagreb, 1931); A. Deroko, "Starohrvatski pleter i srpski moravski preplet," *Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku*, 56–9 (*Zbornik radova posvećenih M. Abramiću*, sv. I), (Split, 1952–1957), 252–9; idem, *Monumentalna i dekorativna arhitektura u srednjevekovnoj Srbiji* (Belgrade, 1953), 188, 210, 219, 221; Đ. Bošković, *Arhitektura srednjeg veka* (Belgrade, 1957), 299, 305; idem, "O nekim problemima vezanim za istraživanja Hilandara sa posebnim osvrtom na odnos između eksonarteksa Hilandarske crkve i spomenika Moravske škole," *Starinar* 28–9 (1977–1978): 76–7, nn. 30–33; H. G. Franz, "Transennae als Fensterverschluß, ihre Entwicklung von frühchristlichen bis in islamischen Zeit," *IstMitt* 8 (1958): 65–81; idem, "Fenetres circulaires," 253–70; idem, "Die Fensterrose und ihre Vorgeschichte in der islamischen Baukunst," *ZKunstw* 10 (1956): 1–22.

7 The various theories have been summarized in Ristić, *Moravska arhitektura*, 13–22.

8 For bibliography and an historiographic overview, see: S. Ćurčić, "Architecture in the Byzantine Sphere of Influence Around the Middle of the Fourteenth Century," *Dečani i vizantijska umetnost sredinom XIV veka*, ed. V. J. Đurić (Belgrade,

1989), 68; Ristić, *Moravska arhitektura*, 13–22; I. Stevović, *Kalenić* (Belgrade, 2006), 33–42; Trkulja, "Aesthetics and Symbolism," Ch. 3.

9 Ristić, *Moravska arhitektura*, 109–41. V. Korać, "Les origines de l'architecture de l'école de la Morava," *Moravska škola i njeno doba. Naučni skup u Resavi, 1968* (Belgrade, 1972), 166, posits that rose window in Serbian architecture represents the influence of Romanesque architecture.

10 Cowen, *Rose Windows*, 8.

11 For the ties between the Adriatic Littoral and Serbia, see J. V. A. Fine, *The Late Medieval Balkans, Critical Survey from the Late Twelfth Century to the Ottoman Conquest* (Ann Arbor, 1990), 338; S. Ćirković, *Rabotnici, vojnici, duhovnici; Društva srenjevekovnog Balkana* (Belgrade, 1997), 47–55, 60–66.

12 J. Maksimović, "Vizantijski i orientalni elementi u dekoraciji Moravske Škole," *Zbornik Filozofskog fakulteta* (Belgrade, 1964), 375–83. Millet, *L'ancien art*, 150, 191. V. Petković and Ž. Tatić, *Manastir Kalinić* (Vršac, 1926), were the early exponents of this view, but they also allowed for a possible minor influence from the West.

13 C. Williams, "The Cult of 'Alid Saints in the Fatimid Monuments of Cairo. Part I: The Mosque of al-Aqmar," *Muqarnas* 1 (1983): 37–52.

14 For illustrations, see: I. Peña, *Christian Art of Byzantine Syria* (Reading, 1997), 73, 144; H. Stierlin, *Byzantinischer Orien. Von Konstantinopel bis Armenien und von Syrien bis Äthiopien* (Stuttgart and Zurich, 1996), 29, 37; O. Binst, ed., *The Levant: History and Archaeology in the Eastern Mediterranean* (Cologne, 1999), 202.

15 For comprehensive study of ceramoplastic discs on Constantinopolitan buildings, see: A. Pasadaios, *O keramoplastikos diakosmos ton vyzantinon kterion tes Konstantinoupoleos* (Athens, 1973).

16 G. Subotić, "Keramoplastični ukras," *Istorija primenjene umetnosti kod Srba* (Belgrade, 1977), figs. 13a–d; S. Nenadović, *Bogorodica Ljeviška—njen postanak i njeno mesto u arhitekturi Milutinovog vremena* (Belgrade, 1963), 147, figs. 69, 70.

17 For the origin and spread of ceramoplastic rosettes, see Nenadović, *Bogorodica Ljeviška*, 148–9.

18 U. Peschlow and S. Möllers, "Die Latmos region in byzantinischer Zeit," in *Der Latmos. Eine unbekannte Gebirgslandschaft an der Turkischen Westkuste*, ed. A. Peschlow-Bindokat (Mainz am Rhein, 1996), 58–87.

19 A. H. S. Megaw, "Glazed Bowls in Byzantine Churches," *DChAE* 4 (1964–1965): 145–62. For other instances of this type of decoration, see M. Meinecke, *Fayencedekorationen seldschukischer Sakralbauten in Kleinasien*. IstMitt Beiheft 13 (Tübingen, 1976).

20 For the revival of sculpture during the Palaiologan period see A. Grabar, *Sculptures byzantines de Constantinople (IVe–Xe siècle)* (Paris, 1963); idem, *Sculptures byzantines du Moyen Age (XIe–XIVe siècle)* (Paris, 1976); K. Wessel, "Byzantinische Plastik der Palaiologischen Periode," *Byzantion* 36 (1966): 217–59; H. Belting, "Zur Skulptur aus der Zeit um 1300 in Konstantinopel," *MünchJB*, ser. 3, 23 (1972): 63–93; T. Pazaras, "Reliefs of a Sculpture Workshop Operating in Thessaly and Macedonia at the End of the 13th and Beginning of the 14th Century," *L'art de Thessalonique et des pays balkaniques et les courants spirituels au XIVe siècle: recueil des rapports du IVe Colloque Serbo-Grec, Belgrade 1985*, ed. D. Davidov (Belgrade, 1987), 159.

21 Krautheimer, *ECBA*, 448–9.

22 D. Bogdanović, V. Đurić, and D. Medaković, *Chilandar* (Belgrade, 1978), 125; Đ. Bošković, "O nekim problemima vezanim za istraživanja Hilandara sa posebnim osvrtom na odnos između eksonarteksa Hilandarske crkve i spomenika Moravske škole," *Starinar* 28–9 (1977–1978): 69–79.

23 S. Ćurčić, "The Exonarthex of Hilandar; The Question of its Function and Patronage," *Osam vekova Hilandara. Istorija, duhovni život, književnost, umetnost i arhitektura*, ed. V. Korać (Naučni skupovi Srpske akademije nauka i umetnosti, knj. XCV, Odeljenje istorijskih nauka, knj. 27) (Belgrade, 2001), 477–87; and, idem, "The Architectural Significance of the Hilandar Katholikon," *BSCAbstr* 4 (1978): 14–15.

24 S. Nenadović, *Dušanova zadužbina Manastir Svetih Arhanđela kod Prizrena*, Spomenik CXVI, n.s. 18 (Belgrade, 1967), 4–10.

PART III
The Contexts and Contents of Buildings

8

Between the Mountain and the Lake: Tower, Folklore, and the Monastery at Agios Vasileios near Thessalonike

Nikolas Bakirtzis

Rising along the southern shore of Lake Koroneia northeast of Thessalonike, an ancient tower looms, cloaked in obscurity (Figure 8.1).[1] While the tower is commonly identified by the neighboring village's name as Agios Vasileios, no specific information on its function and role survives. Its architecture points to the existence of a monastic establishment during the Late Byzantine period. Located in the hinterland of Thessalonike, the tower and its related monastic complex would have played a strategic role in the economic and political organization of the region.

This chapter will review the available historical and archaeological data on the tower of Ag. Vasileios and will address its role in the organization of Thessalonike's hinterland. A brief discussion of the limited and inconclusive historiographical references on the tower will be followed by a concise examination of its architecture and typology. I then turn to the site of the edifice, which lies between Mt. Chortiatis and Lake Koroneia (Figure 8.2). I explore the crucial yet neglected relationship between the fortification, the mountain, and the lake before discussing the tower's monastic tradition and its history during the Ottoman period, when it was refitted to adapt to the needs of a new administration. Overall, the study of the tower adds to our knowledge of the topography, the history, and the economy of the understudied environs of Byzantine and post-Byzantine Thessalonike.[2]

The Tower

The French scholar Charles Avezou made the earliest reference to the tower in 1914. He described the building in his travel journal and published one

photograph of its exterior. Avezou also recorded a bit of local history about the tower. According to the village's mayor, the "tower's antiquities" had been removed by French soldiers in 1899.[3] This important fact will be discussed in the following description of the tower's architecture.

In 1939 Dimitrios Petropoulos mentioned the tower in an essay on the folklore of the Macedonian regions but said nothing about the tower's design or function.[4] Gabriel Pentzikes exhibited the same lack of specificity in 1955, simply alluding to the structure's antiquity.[5] Only in 1969 Apostolos Vacalopoulos made the first attempt to place the tower within a chronological framework and to address its role.[6] Vacalopoulos connected the tower to a famous speech delivered by Manuel Palaiologos to an assembly (*ekklesia*) of Thessalonikans sometime between 1382 and 1387.[7] Manuel was stationed in Thessalonike during that period and had assumed a leading role in its defense against the Ottomans, who already controlled a great part of the city's hinterland and neighboring towns.[8] In his speech, Manuel alluded to a network of neighboring fortresses strategically placed "like a circle" around Thessalonike. Vacalopoulos included the Ag. Vasileios tower in this defense system but did not propose a date for its construction.[9]

Figure 8.1 Agios Vasileios tower. General view from the north (photo: author).

Figure 8.2 Map of Thessalonike and its hinterland during the Byzantine period, with locations of Mt. Chortiatis, the lakes Koroneia and Volve, Agios Vasileios, and Galatista (drawing: author and Michael Anderson).

Figure 8.3 Agios Vasileios village. General view with the tower from the northern slopes of Mt. Chortiatis. Note the receding size of Koroneia Lake (photo: author).

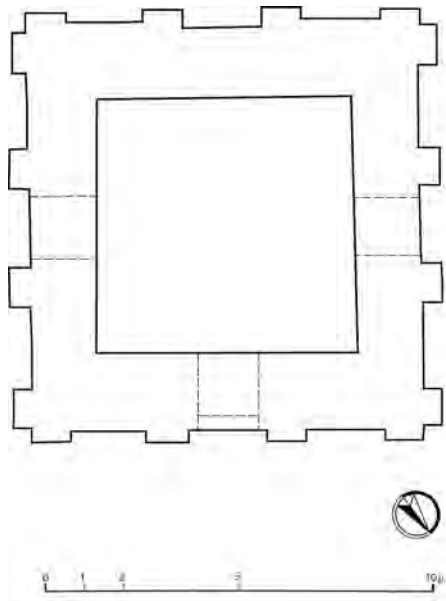


Figure 8.4 Ag. Vasileios tower. Plan (drawing: Michael Anderson after *Δίκτυο*, p. 302).

Figure 8.5 Ag. Vasileios tower. Northeast façade (photo: author).

Figure 8.6 Ag. Vasileios tower. Southeast façade (photo: author).

In 1993 Nikolaos Moutsopoulos provided additional information, referring to the edifice as an Athonite tower.[10] More recently, in 2007 Styliani Sambanopoulou's entry in the catalogue of the archaeological sites and monuments of central Macedonia summarized the available evidence and hinted at the tower's possible monastic function.[11]

The tower of Ag. Vasileios is situated at the northern fringes of the homonymous village, approximately 20 km northeast of Thessalonike, at a point where the northern foothills of Mt. Chortiatis slope toward what used to be Lake Koroneia's southern shore (Figure 8.3). During the last three decades, the size and volume of the lake have steadily diminished, and by the summer of 1999 the lake was completely dry. Today the tower appears as an isolated monument, stripped of its topographical and historical context.

The tower has a square plan, which measures approximately 10.5 to 10.15 m (Figure 8.4). Four buttresses articulate each of the tower's sides making a total of 16 buttresses. Each is approximately 1 m wide and project between 0.30 and 0.45 m from the tower's walls. Due to the sloping terrain of its location, approximately 10.2 m of the tower's southwest wall is exposed, while approximately 15.5 m of the northeast wall is visible. On the northeast façade, an arched entrance is located 7.5 m in height from the present-day ground level (Figure 8.5). Its opening measures approximately 1.80 m in width and 4 m in height. Over the entrance a blind arch, executed in brick, probably

Figure 8.7 Ag. Vasileios tower. Southwest façade (photo: author).

Figure 8.8 Galatista tower. View from west (photo: author).

accommodated a dedicatory inscription. Tall arched windows, approximately 3.4 to 1.5 m in height, articulate the tower's northwest and southeast façades (Figures 8.2 and 8.6). Although deteriorating, the southwest façade preserves fragmentary evidence of at least one, and possibly two, smaller windows (Figure 8.7). Debris from the tower's collapsed upper walls and roof now fills the interior of the tower. Crumbled masonry blocks lay outside the building at its base.

The tower was built of local rubble with extensive use of horizontal bricks. Wooden beams were placed horizontally within the masonry to provide greater stability. Except for a few marble pieces with no sculptural decoration, there is no significant evidence of *spolia* in the building's fabric, although the aforementioned testimony by the local mayor concerning the removal of the "tower's antiquities" in 1899 leaves this matter open.

The tower belongs to a distinct type of rectangular Byzantine towers whose façades were articulated by projecting buttresses that supported a wider top storey.[12] Almost all recorded examples of this type are located in the broader region of central and eastern Macedonia with a particular concentration in the Chalkidike peninsula and the valley of the river Strymon. While the earliest examples of these towers date from the late tenth and early eleventh centuries, most of the surviving examples date from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Standing alone or as part of architectural complexes almost all of these buttressed towers were associated with monasteries and served a variety of defensive, storage, and religious purposes.[13] Their geographical distribution points to the popularity of the type in the Athonite monastic tradition. The closest neighboring tower to Ag. Vasileios is also the best comparable example. Located in the small town of Galatista, on the southern slopes of the mountain of Chortiatis and most probably part of a monastic *metochion*, the tower's early phase is dated to the late eleventh century (Figure 8.8).[14]

Examining the tower at Ag. Vasileios in this typological context offers some interesting observations regarding its original appearance. According to the typology of other examples, the tower must have had an additional, wider storey, which was supported on a series of arches and squinches bridging 16 projecting buttresses. Structural remains from these vaults exist around the tower.[15]

The tower's window arrangement is of particular interest, as it does not adequately comply with the architectural typology of its surviving counterparts. The single arched windows that articulated each of the building's northwest and southeast sides as well as the two windows in its southwestern side make little sense for a fortification. Their number, size, height, and proximity to ground level render them virtually useless for any defensive purpose. Instead, these sizeable windows allow plenty of light to pour into the tower and offer its inhabitants breathtaking views of the surrounding landscape. Their arrangement is in contrast to the well-

protected entrance that is raised above ground and most probably was accessed by wooden scaffolding or a ladder. To suggest that this was the Byzantine tower's original appearance presents significant problems since no comparable example survives.[16] It could be argued that the tower's window arrangement, as it is preserved today, is the result of a building phase that transformed the tower into a residence, as will be discussed below. In another useful comparison, the two large windows on the south side of the upper floor of the buttressed tower at Prodromos monastery on Mount Menoikeion are not original, but date from the end of the nineteenth century, when the building was transformed into the monastic library. The towers at Kratovo in F.Y.R.O.M. offer a constructive example of their residential use during the early Ottoman period.[17]

The Mountain and the Lake

While useful in identifying the monastic nature of the buttressed tower and its possible dating between the late eleventh and the fourteenth centuries, the available historiographical data, as well as the preliminary visual examination of the building's architecture, remain inconclusive regarding its exact history and function. In fact, due to a lack of textual sources and limited material evidence the history of the entire hinterland of Byzantine and post-Byzantine Thessalonike as well as its monuments remains obscure. It is important to move beyond the narrow scope of the traditional historical and archaeological discourse. A close and careful study of local oral histories and folkloric traditions combined with a thorough study of the region's geography and landscape—factors that defined the lives of inhabitants—may lead to a better understanding of the region's defensive framework and socioeconomic organization.

The tower at Ag. Vasileios presents an important case study for the usefulness of local folklore. In 1939, Dimitrios Petropoulos, a professor of Folklore at the University of Thessalonike, documented the oral histories of the village as they have been passed down. According to Petropoulos's transcriptions, Gero-Giannis, an elder of the village born in 1854, told this story about the tower:

> One winter, a great many years ago, the lake [present-day Lake Koroneia] had frozen. It was completely covered with dirt and plants, thus making it impossible for people to distinguish it from the land and to recognize that water was under their feet. The king of the land, while hunting, crossed the lake without realizing it. Astonished at the fact, he ordered the construction of the tower of Ag. Vasileios to mark the edge and the beginning of the lake.[18]

A second story incorporates the mythic legacy of Alexander the Great, a *topos* in the folklore of Macedonia.[19] "King Alexander had two daughters. When they were married he built a tower for each of them, one at the peninsula of Chalkidiki [to the southeast of Thessalonike, perhaps the aforementioned tower at Galatista] and one at Ag. Vasileios." The location of the Galatista tower at the southern slopes of Chortiatis allows for the suggestion that it could be the tower of the second daughter of Alexander. According to these tales, the towers functioned in two ways, as boundary markers and as residences, both common practices in Byzantium.[20]

These local traditions are reflections of local folklore and the long continuity of the memory of Alexander in the region. They also display the ways that the presence of monuments from the vaguely known past inspired local traditions and communal memory. Both traditions reveal some important clues regarding the role of the tower, which can help shed light on its unknown history. First, they both relate the construction of the tower to the deeds of an important local ruler. In addition, they stress its role as a landmark, either as a signpost between land and water or to demarcate property boundaries.

It is important to consider the geography of the location and the history of its landscape. The steep bulk of Mt. Chortiatis to the south and Lake Koroneia to the north dominate the tower's horizons. The tower stands at the exact point where the northern foothills of Chortiatis once met the shores of Lake Koroneia, known in the past as the lake of Ag. Vasileios. The history of this heavily altered landscape demonstrates two important aspects of Thessalonike's hinterland during the Byzantine and post-Byzantine periods: the significance of monastic institutions and the economic activities of rural populations in the city's environs. Mt. Chortiatis preserves the evidence of an organized monastic world that played an instrumental role in the defense of Thessalonike. The lake and its abundant fish was a crucial component of the economic network that supported the Byzantine metropolis.

The mountain of Chortiatis, known as Kissos in antiquity, separates the peninsula of Chalkidiki from the Mygdonian plateau and its two lakes (Koroneia and Volve).[21] Situated on the western foothills of Chortiatis, Thessalonike has been linked with the mountain since the city's foundation in 316 BCE. In addition to its overshadowing visual presence, the mountain's springs have provided fresh water to the city's inhabitants for centuries.[22]

Ioannis Kaminiates described the important role Mt. Chortiatis and its slopes played in the economic and agricultural system of Thessalonike's environs in the late ninth and early tenth centuries:

> On two sides of the mountain, in fact, namely the southern and the northern, stretch an expanse of low-lying plain land, which is both easily reached and easily exploited and provides the citizens with all the necessary means of subsistence … Large numbers of monasteries, perched on tablelands, nestling

> in valleys or ensconced in especially delightful locations, add a novel touch for a wayfarer and citizen alike.[23]

The attested monastic presence on the mountain is significant. This rich history of monasticism on Mt. Chortiatis can be traced at least back to the sixth century.[24] Maybe the most prominent example dates from the beginning of the eleventh century, when Osios Photios of Thessaly, a close confidant and counsel to Emperor Basil II, retreated to a cave on the mountain.[25]

An intriguing chronological concurrence with the activities of Photios on Mt. Chortiatis in the eleventh century was the establishment of the monastery of Chortaitou dedicated to the Theotokos. References to the monastery continue through the very last years of Byzantine authority in Thessalonike.[26,27] The location of the Byzantine monastery has been identified in the contemporary village of Chortiatis.[28] The best-preserved remnant is the twelfth-century church of the Transfiguration, which demonstrates the monastery's affluence and its Constantinopolitan links.[29] Historical references to the monastery of Chortaitou and the mountainous region peaked during the thirteenth, fourteenth, and early fifteenth centuries, a period when Thessalonike was highly contested amongst an array of aspiring rulers during the politically turbulent Late Byzantine period.[30]

It is evident the mountain had gained importance in an age when Byzantine control over the city's hinterland was weak. In this period, the monastery of Chortaitou became the central institution on the mountainous region, serving a complex role in the defense of Thessalonike. Situated on the main route to Thessalonike from the east, through the mountainous ravines of Mt. Chortiatis, the monastery was strategically important, as it also assumed regulation of the mountain's water sources.[31] The monastery's foundation and growth helped to solidify Byzantine control of Thessalonike's hinterlands.

Where the mountain provided security and fresh water for Thessalonike, Ioannis Kaminiates testifies that the Mygdonian plateau lakes provided sustenance through its abundant fish. Such was its profusion in fish that the Byzantine writer suggested the two lakes (present-day Koroneia and Volve) "competed with the sea" by offering food to the inhabitants of nearby settlements and making the city of Thessalonike rich.[32]

Although several centuries later than Kaminiates, the account of Mehmed Âşik, who lived in Thessalonike in the 1580s, underscores the richness of the lake of Koroneia and the fecundity of its surrounding land:[33]

> [Folio 95b] [There are] fish in the lake. Merchants transport the fish to Selanik and other cities. On the shore of the same lake is the village called 'Ey Vasil' [Ag. Vasileios]. The majority of its people are Greek Christians. [Folio 96a] The majority of them are fishermen by custom and decree [probably exempt from taxation for offered services]. And, among the people of this village there are

> few Muslims, and the village as well as the lake are both part of the estates of the Ottoman Sultans. It [the village] has both an *Emin* [steward] and an officer.

Âşik's account attests to the continuous affluence of the lake's fish production, a major resource for local populations throughout the Ottoman period. Among them were the inhabitants of the village of Ag. Vasileios, the great majority of whom, according to Âşik's account, were Greek fishermen. The presence of Ottoman officials was probably related to the regulation of their fishing activities and production. Furthermore, the Ottoman traveler identifies the lake by the name of the homonymous village, an important designation for the historical topography of the region and the central role of the village of Ag. Vasileios.

The lake retained this name during the Ottoman period, as evidenced by an 1899 Ottoman military map (*Rumeli-İ-İ Şahane- İ Haritasi* of 1899) that identifies the lake as "Aya Vasil Gölü" (Ag. Vasileios Lake). The same was attested in 1886 by N. Schinas and in 1905 by G. Chatzekyriakos.[34] The long continuity of the lake's designation after Ag. Vasileios, also identified by the name of the nearby town of Langadas, certainly points to the affluence of the homonymous locality as it was attested by both Byzantine and Ottoman writers.

The Monastery

In 1667 the famous Ottoman traveler Evliya Çelebi echoed Mehmed Âşik's testimony. In a section entitled, "the way station on the shore of the lake Ayvasil," Çelebi offered this description:

> It is a flourishing large village that is like a town … In earlier times there was a great priest, named "Aya Vasil" who built a city here that came to be known by his name. In the language of the Greeks the word "Aya" means Saint and Vasil was … his name. At a later time the city and the fortress was destroyed by Gazi Evrenos and it still remains as such, but the area surrounding the lake is flourishing and well-cultivated. This lake is one staging post away from Selanik [and] it lies between the north and the west of the city. Stated differently it lies between Besik [Volve Lake] and Selanik. In point of fact there is half a staging post between this lake and the Besik Lake. They say that the circumference of Lake Ayvasil is ten miles. It abounds in fish among which are black carp and needlefish. The "unbelievers" [Christians] who live in the surrounding villages fish here. They take the fresh fish that they catch to Selanik for sale, and from the profits they make they pay the Sultan's tithe to the steward, because it [the tax] is entrusted to this officer. As for the depth of this lake it varies between 5, 9, and 10 fathoms. The foot [bottom] of this lake stretches to the Besik Lake. It is a lake with extremely fresh sweet water.[35]

Çelebi described a flourishing village, comparing it to a town. He corroborated Âşik's reference to the fishing activities of the settlement's Christian (Greek) inhabitants, and, more importantly, he described the Ottoman steward as a tax collector. Moreover, Çelebi referred to the settlement's history and the conquest of the region by *gazi* warriors at the end of the fourteenth century. Specifically he spoke of the town's fortress, which was destroyed by Evrenos, who occupied the region in the mid-1380s.[36] Notably, Çelebi preserved the memory of the castle town's founder, a "great priest" named Vasileios, after whom the town, and subsequently the region, took their name. It is very possible that Çelebi's report was based upon local traditions, which clearly point to the monastic tradition of Ag. Vasileios.

In accordance to the tower's typology, as well as the history and folklore of its surroundings, the deteriorating edifice is most likely the sole remnant of a once important monastic establishment that controlled the lake and its surrounding region. The particular location was of known topographical importance. According to Nikolaos Moutsopoulos, it was the approximate site of the Roman *mutatio Duodea*, a way station on the road to Thessalonike.[37] Its significance continued during the Byzantine and Ottoman periods as an important junction along a key communication route from eastern Macedonia and Thrace to Thessalonike. This route ran along the southern bank of Lake Koroneia to the tower of Ag. Vasileios, where a secondary road turned north, ascending the slopes of Mt. Chortiatis, leading to the monastery of Chortaitou. From this plateau, the road led back through the mountain's ravines to the city's eastern walls.[38] This route grew increasingly important through the Late Byzantine period until it became the foremost approach to Thessalonike.

The monastic settlement at Ag. Vasileios could be dated to the eleventh and twelfth centuries. During this period monastic activity in the region was growing, and monks were increasingly involved in its management. This date conforms to the emergence of the monastery of Chortaitou as a central institution in the area, as well as to the early phase of the tower of Galatista, which must have been a part of the same organizational scheme. The few surviving textual sources on Chortaitou monastery state that it held significant property in the region and that it controlled the area north of the mountain along the banks of Lake Koroneia.[39]

In all likelihood, the monastery's presence at the site fostered the growth of an affluent settlement whose inhabitants exploited the lake's plentiful fish supply. Evidently, fishing in the lake was a highly profitable venture and allowed the settlement to continue its existence through the twentieth century, since all of the available accounts on the village refer to its inhabitants as being Christian Greek fishermen. The invaluable Ottoman tax registers offer additional proof on the matter.[40]

Based on the surviving data, it is difficult to be absolutely certain about the dedication of the monastery to Ag. Vasileios and, therefore to conclude that

the institution gave its name to the village and subsequently to the broader area. Yet, Evliya Çelebi's report of the settlement's founder as a "great priest," as well as the dedication itself, to Vasileios—one of the fathers of Orthodox monasticism—are serious indications that point to the leading role of the monastery at the site.

The Historically Elusive Monastery of Ag. Vasileios

Unfortunately written sources do not preserve a direct reference to an Ag. Vasileios monastery located in the outskirts of Thessalonike. An intriguing allusion to a monastery dedicated to Ag. Vasileios the Saint is preserved in a letter, dated between 1431 and 1440, written by Pope Eugene IV (1431–1447) to the Venetian authorities in Greece offering money in exchange for the release of 14 monks from the monastery of Ag. Vasileios. This event must have occurred during the final days of Venetian presence in Thessalonike or just after their exit in 1430 upon the final Ottoman breach of the city's defenses. According to K. Mertzios, R. Janin, A. Vacalopoulos, and Speros Vryonis, the monastery mentioned by the Pope must have been located "under the walls of the city" according to the letter's text.[41] This is a logical possibility, since we know of the existence of monasteries "touching upon" the fortifications of the acropolis of Thessalonike at the end of the fourteenth century from the writing of the city's bishop Symeon.[42] According to Apostolos Vacalopoulos, however, these institutions had been destroyed or abandoned during the early sieges of Thessalonike by the Ottomans in the 1380s.[43] Thus, the existence of a functioning monastic community attached to the eastern walls during the final siege of the city seems highly improbable, especially when considering that this was where the Ottomans focused their attack and finally breached the city's defenses.[44]

A different reading of Pope Eugene's letter may offer an answer to this problem and additionally allude to the monastery of Ag. Vasileios by the lake: is it possible that its specific topographical remark ("under the walls of the city") referred to the site of the monks' capture, and not to the location of the monastery?[45]

Another possible reference to the monastery of Ag. Vasileios comes in the form of a deed, issued in 1579 by the Patriarch of Constantinople Ieremias referring to the properties and the dependencies of Vlatadon monastery.[46] Among those, that of Ag. Georgios was located in the "land of Megas Vasileios." Although the exact location of the *metochion* Ag. Georgios is debated by scholars, it is safe to contend that the document at least mentions a monastic institution related to the Vasileios toponym.[47] The post-Byzantine church in the village of Ag. Vasileios is dedicated to Ag. Georgios, which may derive from an earlier dedication of the Byzantine period.[48] The allusion to the land

of "Megas Vasileios" may also refer to the general region of Mt. Chortiatis, as the toponym Ag. Vasileios referred to the broader area, including the lake, and not just to the locality of the present-day village.[49] No matter how we read the document, it is clear that the author confirms the active existence of monasteries in the hinterland of Thessalonike during this period.

The region of the village of Ag. Vasileios and the Byzantine monastery that existed there were of crucial significance in the organization of the northeastern environs of Thessalonike. From Ag. Vasileios, monks and state administrators managed the lake and controlled the road to Mt. Chortiatis. Viewed in this context, the monastery could have been related to the monastery of Chortaitou, the central manager of the region. The references of early Ottoman tax registers dating from 1478 and 1530 reflect this organization and support this argument since they list "Ayo Vasil" as "attached" (dependent) to the village of "Hortaç" (Chortiatis).[50]

Regarding the question of the monastic institution being a dependency, we unfortunately lack the conclusive data to identify it as such. Vacalopoulos clearly suggested that the textual references to the Ag. Vasileios monastery outside Thessalonike point to "a monastery and not a *metochion*."[51]

Ag. Vasileios in the Ottoman Period

The arrival of the Ottomans in Macedonia on the outskirts of Thessalonike altered the organization of the city's environs and brought a gradual end to the strategic role of monasteries. The attacks of the *gazi* warriors of Evrenos in the 1380s and the first Ottoman capture of the city in April 1387 appear to have had limited consequences for the monastery of Chortaitou. The institution survived at least until the 1420s, when the final push of the forces of Murad II for the capture of Thessalonike annihilated the weakened defense of the city's hinterland.[52]

During the same period the monastery at Ag. Vasileios evidently ceased to exist. Evliya Çelebi's reference to the earlier destruction of its fortifications by Evrenos certainly reflects the breach of its defenses, and thus the damage of the tower's top part could be dated to the 1380s. In all probability, the monastic institution recovered from that attack and, as in the case of the monastery of Chortaitou, continued its life until the final fall of Thessalonike.

At least until the 1420s the Byzantine and later the Venetian authorities of the city appear to have retained limited control of the region of Chortiatis and its surrounding settlements, among which it is sound to include Ag. Vasileios. The arrest of 14 monks outside the walls of Thessalonike during the last phase of Murad's siege may be related to the final abandonment of the monastery at Ag. Vasileios.[53]

The fact that this monastic establishment did not manage to survive the transition into the Ottoman period indicates its importance for the defense of Thessalonike. It also mirrors the strategies employed by the Ottomans in their effort to assume control of the most important Byzantine city they had conquered up to that date as well as some of the lessons learned during the earlier phase of their rule of Thessalonike between 1387 and 1402. By 1430, the Ottomans had realized that in order to secure control of the city, they had to dismantle the organization of its immediate hinterland and to destroy its key institutions. Among those were monasteries of Chortaitou and Ag. Vasileios.

Due to its important location along the road running on the southern shore of the two lakes and its abundant fish supply, the village at Ag. Vasileios continued to thrive under the same name, with its Greek population not seriously affected by Ottoman rule. An Ottoman official collecting taxes on the fish lived, according to local tradition, in the tower.[54] The tower's location offered protection as well as an excellent vantage point to oversee the Christian village and the lake. The remains of a small private bath situated approximately 30 m to the west of the tower attests to the presence of a residential complex.[55] The last major building phase of the structure dates to this period, when the upper part of the tower was probably restored to accommodate the needs of this residence.

Conclusions

The rediscovery of the monastery at Ag. Vasileios enriches our understanding of the hinterland of Thessalonike. The story of the aging tower not only reveals the complex socioeconomic networks of the city's surroundings during the Byzantine and Ottoman periods but also reflects the existence of Thessalonike's own holy mountain. Focusing on the history, the folklore and the landscape of the locality of Ag. Vasileios, this chapter explored aspects of the diverse ways Byzantium tried to manage rural space during the empire's last centuries. There are still many unanswered questions about the sociopolitical networks that coordinated these efforts. However, understanding the physical means that were used to control a shrinking hinterland provides valuable insight into Byzantium's policies and the complex realities of an age of insecurity.

During the same period, monastic institutions played an increasingly active role and became the main tools for the control of contested rural regions. This was a sophisticated policy, the beginnings of which can be traced in the Middle Byzantine period. Their goal was to outsource the management of rural space to monasteries and to maintain indirect influence over local societies through monastic patronage. A meticulous investigation of the mysterious ruins outside Thessalonike, such as those of Ag. Vasileios, helps to determine these larger schemes of Byzantine organization and policy.

Acknowledgments

Professor Ćurčić has been an inspiring mentor who fostered my efforts to explore the rich traditions of the Byzantine world. He taught me to always revisit the available evidence, and to question the various historiographies of the Balkan peninsula. He fostered my anthropological interests in the study of the long continuities of Byzantine monuments and encouraged my work on local histories and folklore. My work on the *pyrgos* of Ag. Vasileios reflects some aspects of the intellectual journeys I have undertaken during my studies with Prof. Ćurčić, and as a small token of my appreciation this chapter is dedicated to him.

Notes

1 An early version of this chapter was presented in the 13th Annual Byzantine Studies Conference in Baltimore, MD; see N. Bakirtzis, *BSCAbstr* 30 (2004): 54–55. The architectural discussion of the tower is based on observations made before its restoration (2007–2008) conducted by the 9th Ephoreia of Byzantine Antiquities (Thessalonike). I thank Xenophon Moniaros for reviewing drafts of this chapter and Michael Anderson for preparing a digital plan of the tower. References to the tower are limited; see A. Vacalopoulos, *Ιστορία της Μακεδονίας 1354–1833* (Thessalonike, 1969), 37–8, fig. 8; St. Sambanopoulou, "Άγιος Βασίλειος (Δήμος Κορώνειας)," in *Δίκτυο Αρχαιολογικών χώρων και μνημείων κεντρικής Μακεδονίας (Νομοί Θεσσαλονίκης – Κιλκίς – Πιερίας): Πρόσωπο και χαρακτήρας*, Τετράδια Αρχαιολογίας 5 (Thessalonike, 2007), 35–6, fig. 152.16, plan 1.

2 The work of Apostolos Vacalopoulos on the history of the outskirts of Thessalonike remains of prime importance; A. Vacalopoulos, "Ιστορικές έρευνες έξω από τα τείχη της Θεσσαλονίκης," *Μακεδονικά* 17 (1977): 1–38. For an overview of Late Byzantine Thessalonike's environs and location, see J.-M. Spieser, *Thessalonique et ses monuments du IV^e au VI^e siecle. Contribution a l'etude d'une ville paleochretienne* (Paris, 1984), 7–24; Ch. Bakirtzis, "The Urban Continuity and Size of Late Byzantine Thessalonike," *DOP* 27 (2003): 36–9. Also, D. K. Samsaris, *Ιστορική Γεωγραφία της Ανατολικής Μακεδονίας κατά την Αρχαιότητα*, Μακεδονική Βιβλιοθήκη 49, ΕΜΣ (Thessalonike, 1976). On the Via Egnatia and the Mygdonian plateau, see N. K. Moutsopoulos, "Η θέση της Μυγδονικής Απολλωνίας και η παραλίμνια χάραξη της Εγνατίας Οδού," in *Αρχαία Μακεδονία* 5, Anakoinoseis kata to pempto Diethnes Symposio Thessalonike, 10–15 Oktovriou 1989 (Thessalonike, 1993), 999–1110. On the region of western Chalkidiki, see M.-J. Lefort, *Villages de Macedoine: notices historiques et topographiques sur la Macedoine orientale au Moyen Age, 1. La Chalcidique occidentale*, TM Monographies 1 (Paris, 1982); idem, "Population et peuplement en Macédoine orientale, IX^e–XV^e siècle," in *Hommes et richesses dans l'empire byzantin II, VIII–XV siècle*, ed. V. Kravari, J. Lefort, and C. Morisson (Paris, 1991), 63–82. On the economic life of the region in the Late Byzantine period, A. Laiou, "The Economy of Byzantine Macedonia in the Palaiologan

Period," *Byzantine Macedonia: Identity, Image and History. Papers from the Melbourne Conference July 1995*, ed. J. Burke and R. Scott (Melbourne, 2000), 199–211. E. Zachariadou, ed., *The Via Egnatia under Ottoman Rule 1380–1699* (Rethymnon, 1996), provides important information and data on the organization and economic life of the Via Egnatia to and from Thessalonike.

3 D. Feissel and M. Sève, "La Chalcidique vue par Charles Avezou, (avril–mai 1914). Notes de voyage et inscriptions," *BCH* 103 (1979): 238, n. 32 and fig. 6. The presence of French soldiers conducting archaeological work in the outskirts of Thessalonike during the first years of the twentieth century is a little curious, since it was only later, between 1916 and 1919, that the French "Army of the Orient" was active in archaeological research in the region, see C. Picard, "Recherches archéologiques de l'Armée Française en Macedoine, 1916–1919," *BSA* 23 (1918–1919): 1–9.

4 D. Petropoulos, "Ο πύργος του Άϊ Βασίλη," *Μακεδονικό Ημερολόγιο* (1939): 184.

5 N. G. Pentzikes, "Ανά το Μυγδονικό λεκανοπέδιο," *Νέα Πορεία* (Thessalonike) 1 (1955): 22.

6 Vacalopoulos, "Ιστορικές έρευνες," 37, fig. 8.

7 On Manuel II Palaiologos's speech, see V. Laourdas, "Ο συμβουλευτικός προς τους Θεσσαλονικείς του Μανουήλ Παλαιολόγου," *Μακεδονικά* 3 (1953–1955): 290–307.

8 On the history of Thessalonike shortly before its final capture by the Ottomans in 1430, see A. Vacalopoulos, *Ιστορία της Θεσσαλονίκης 316 π.Χ.–1983* (Thessalonike, 1983), 156–84; idem, "Ιστορικές έρευνες," 35–9; and J. W. Barker, "Late Byzantine Thessalonike: A Second City's Challenges and Responses," *DOP* 57 (2003): 5–33.

9 Laourdas, "Συμβουλευτικός προς Θεσσαλονικείς," 295, line 4.

10 Moutsopoulos, "Απολλωνία," 1035–7, 1043–5.

11 Sambanopoulou, "Άγιος Βασίλειος," 35.

12 On the typology and the architecture of buttressed towers, see Pl. Theocharides, "Observations on the Byzantine Buttressed Towers of Macedonia," in *Byzantine Macedonia; Art, Architecture, Music, and Hagiography. Papers from the Melbourne Conference, July 1995*, ed. J. Burke and R. Scott (Melbourne, 2001), 20–27, figs. 33–47; S. Ćurčić, "*Pyrgos*, Stl'p- Donjon. A Western Fortification Concept on Mount Athos and its Sources," *BSCAbstr* 7 (1981): 21–2; S. Popović, *Krst u krugu. Architektura manastira u srednjovekovnoj Srbiji* (Belgrade, 1994), 188–94; N. Zekos, "Βυζαντινοί πύργοι στο κάτω τμήμα της κοιλάδας του Στρυμόνα," in *Οι Σέρρες και η περιοχή τους από την Αρχαία στη Μεταβυζαντινή κοινωνία, Σέρρες 29 Σεπτεμβρίου- 3 Οκτωβρίου 1993* (Serres, 1998), 1: 311–38; 118–20.

13 On monastic towers and their role in monastic life see S. Popović, "'Elevated Chapels': The Monastery Tower and Its Meaning," *BSCAbstr* 19 (1993): 7–8; idem, "*Pyrgos* in the Late Byzantine Monastic Complex," *Manastir Ziča Zbornik Radova* (Kraljevo, 2000), 95–107. Also A. Kirin, "Contemplating the Vistas of Piety at the Rila Monastery," *DOP* 59 (2005): 95–138, esp. 99–10, 119–25.

14 Pl. Theocharides and I. A. Papangelos, "Tower. Galatista. Chalkidike, Greece," in Ćurčić and Hadjitryphonos, *Secular Medieval Architecture*, 222–3.

15 A useful example to help us visualize the original appearance of the tower is the fourteenth-century tower at the monastery of Rila in Bulgaria, which preserves

its upper part; see L. Prashkov, *Khrel' ovata kula* (Sofia, 1973); N. Chaneva and N. Dechevska, "Khrel'o's Tower. Rila Monastery, Bulgaria," in *Secular Medieval Architecture*, 234–5.

16 The well-preserved Rila tower presents a useful comparison. Although its entrance is also located higher above ground and is accessed through a wooden staircase, it does not feature large windows but instead has arrow slits. Similarly the tower of Galatista features an elevated entrance but preserves no evidence of comparable windows; see Theocharides and Papangelos "Galatista," 222–3.

17 N. Bakirtzis, "Hagios Ioannis Prodromos Monastery on Mt. Menoikeion: Byzantine Monastic Practice, Sacred Topography and Architecture," (Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton University 2005), 241–7; C. Hadžipecova, "The Towers of Kratovo, F.Y.R.O.M.," in *Secular Medieval Architecture*, 230–31.

18 D. Petropoulos, "Ο πύργος του Άϊ Βασίλη", *Μακεδονικό Ημερολόγιο* (1939): 184.

19 On the folklore and the traditions related to Alexander the Great, see G. Spyridakis, "Die Volks 'überlieferung' über Alexander den Grossen in Nordgriechenland (Makedonien und Thrakien)," *Zeitschrift für Balkanologie* 9 (1973): 190.

20 On the role of monastic towers as landmarks, see N. Lavriotes, "Η χρήσις των πύργων εις το Άγιον Όρος," in *Οι πύργοι του Αγίου Όρους* (Thessalonike, 2002), 14–17.

21 On the history and the archaeology of Mt. Chortiatis, see M. Manoledakis, *Από τον Κισσό στον Χορτιάτη* (Thessalonike, 2007), esp. pp. 23–75 and 79–91; and G. Bakalakis, "Κισσός", *Μακεδονικά* 3 (1953–1955): 353–62.

22 Manoledakis, *Χορτιάτη*, 86–91.

23 Ioannis Kaminiates, *De expugnatione Thessalonicae*, ed. G. Böhlig, CFHB 4 (Berlin, 1973), 5: 5–15; A. Konstantakopoulou, *Βυζαντινή Θεσσαλονίκη. Χώρος και ιδεολογία* (Ioannina, 199), 45–94, discusses the way Kaminiates perceived real space.

24 Vacalopoulos, *Ιστορία της Θεσσαλονίκης*, 83–84.

25 E. Kaltsogianni, S. Kotzampase, and I. Paraskeuopoulou, *Η Θεσσαλονίκη στη βυζαντινή λογοτεχνία: ρητορικά και αγιολογικά κείμενα, Πανεπιστήμιο Θεσσαλονίκης*, Κέντρο Βυζαντινών Ερευνών, Βυζαντινά Κείμενα και Μελέτες 32 (Thessalonike, 2002), 131–3. For the Vita of Osios Photios see Arsenij, *Pohvalnoe slovo sv. Photiju Thessalonijskomu* (Novgorod, 1897), 5–35; *Bibliotheca hagiographica graeca*, 3rd edn, ed. F. Halkin, SubsHag 47 (Brussels, 1957; repr. 1969), 132.

26 Information of the monastery's existence in the eleventh century, its status as an imperial foundation (βασιλική μονή), and dedication to the Theotokos is provided by a lead seal, today in the archaeological museum of Istanbul (no. 885); see V. Laurent, *Le corpus de sceaux de l'empire byzantin* (Paris, 1965), 2: 164–5.

27 On the monastery of Chortaitou see A. E. Vacalopoulos, "Η παρά την Θεσσαλονίκην Βυζαντινή Μονή του Χορταΐτου," *EpEtByzSp* 15 (1939): 280–88; Vacalopoulos, "Ιστορικές έρευνες," 285–90; Bakalakis, *Κισσός*, 361–2; N. Kalaitzides, *Σεβασμία Βασιλική Μονή Χορταΐτου* (Chortiatis, 2000); Manoledakis, *Χορτιάτη*, 109–27.

28 About the identification of the location of the monastery of Chortaitou, see M. E. Cousinéry, *Voyage dans la Macédoine* (Paris, 1831), 1: 109–10; Th. L. F. Tafel, *De Thessalonica eiusque agro dissertatio geographica* (Berlin, 1839), 138, 252–4;

Vacalopoulos, "Μονή του Χορταΐτου," 204–5; idem, "Ιστορικές έρευνες," 8–12. In particular, see the references of P. Lucas, *Voyage du Sieur Paul Lucas, fait en MDCCXIV, par ordre de Louis XIV*, I (Rouen, 1719), 57, and A. Struck, *Makedonische Fahrten* (Wien-Leipzig, 1907), 1: 81, who witnessed the remains of a church at the site.

29 On the church see N. Nikonanos, "Η εκκλησία της Μεταμορφώσεως του Σωτήρος στο Χορτιάτη," in *Κέρνος. Τιμητική Προσφορά στον καθηγητή Γ. Μπακαλάκη* (Thessalonike, 1972), 102–10; Manoledakis, *Χορτιάτης*, 128–36; Sambanopoulou, "Άγιος Βασίλειος," 114–15.

30 Tafel, *Thessalonica*, 252–4; Vacalopoulos, "Μονή του Χορταΐτου," 203–4, 208–9; Manoledakis, *Χορτιάτης*, 112–14.

31 Manoledakis, *Χορτιάτης*, 102–4, 116.

32 Vacalopoulos, *Ιστορία της Θεσσαλονίκης*, 95.

33 Mehmed Âşik, *Menazir ül' avâlim*, date, folio 95b, 96a. Âşik lived in Selânik (Thessalonike) in the 1580s and explored its hinterland. Âşik's account dates almost 76 years before that of Evliya Celebi, providing descriptions and historical information that apparently were very useful to Celebi in the compilation of his work. I thank Prof. Heath Lowry for pointing my attention to this important account and for his help with the Ottoman sources. His translation of Mehmed Âşik, Evliya Çelebi, as well as the 1478 tax register and the 1899 Ottoman military map, which I am using below, were very useful in my research.

34 N. Th. Schinas, *Οδοιπορικαί σημειώσεις Μακεδονίας, Ηπείρου, Νέας οροθετικής γραμμής και Θεσσαλίας*, III (Athens, 1887), 500; G. Chatzekyriakos, *Σκέψεις και εντυπώσεις εις περιοδείας ανά την Μακεδονίας (1905–6)*, Εταιρεία Μακεδονικών Σπουδών, ΙΜΧΑ 58, 2nd ed. (Thessalonike, 1962), 5–8.

35 Evliya Çelebi, *Evliya Çelebi bin Derviş Mehemmed Zillî, Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*. VIII. Kitap [Topkapi Sarayi Kütüphanesi Bağdat 308 Numarali Yazmanin Transkripsiyonu-Dizini], ed. S. A. Karaman, Y. Daüğli, and R. Dankoff (Istanbul, 2003), 48. The Greek translation by N. Moschopoulos, "Η Ελλάς κατά τον Εβλιά Τσελεμπή," *EpEtByzSp* 14 (1938): 507, is inaccurate.

36 On the Ottoman occupation of central Macedonia, see Vacalopoulos, *Μακεδονία*, 38–49.

37 Moutsopoulos, "Απολλωνία," 1035–7, 1043–5; N. G. L. Hammond, *A History of Macedonia* (Oxford, 1972), 1: 196.

38 On the main roadways reaching the eastern walls of Thessalonike and the Kassandreotike Gate, see Moutsopoulos, "Απολλωνία," 1000–1, 1009–10 and 1023. On Ottoman Apollonia, a few km east of Ag. Vasileios, and the related travel route along the south shore of the two lakes, see M. Kiel, "Ottoman Building Activity along the Via Egnatia," in *Via Egnatia*, 146–9.

39 Theocharides and Papaggelos "Galatista," 222–3. Vacalopoulos, "Μονή του Χορταΐτου," 208–9, and, idem, *Μακεδονία*, 85.

40 Âşik, *Menazir ül' avâlim*, folio 96a; Çelebi, *Seyahatnâmesi*, 48; Schinas, *Οδοιπορικαί σημειώσεις*, 500, Chatzekyriakos, *Περιοδείαι ανά την Μακεδονία*, 5ff.; Feissel and Sève, "Charles Avezou," 238. Also, see E. Kolovos, "*Χωρικοί και μοναχοί στην οθωμανική Χαλκιδική, 15ος–16ος αιώνες. Όψεις της οικονομικής και κοινωνικής ζωής στην ύπαιθρο και η μονή Ξηροποτάμου*," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Crete, 2000) 2: 44.

41 K. D. Mertzios, *Μνημεία μακεδονικής ιστορίας* (Thessalonike, 1947), 94–5; Janin, *Les églises et les monasteries des grands centres byzantines* (Paris, 1975), 356; Vacalopoulos, "Ιστορικές έρευνες," 292, also considers the possibility that the reference to the monks of Ag. Vasileios reflects the Latin notion that all Orthodox monks belonged to Saint Basil's monastic order; S. Vryonis, Jr., "The Ottoman Conquest of Thessaloniki in 1430," in *Continuity and Change in Late Byzantine and Early Ottoman Society: Papers given at a Symposium at Dumbarton Oaks in May 1982*, ed. A. Bryer and H. Lowry (Birmingham, 1986), 316, n. 111.

42 D. Balfour, ed., *Politico-Historical Works of Symeon, Archbishop of Thessalonica (1416/17 to 1429)* (Vienna, 1979), 42. ll. 26–9. Also, I. Fountoulis, "Μαρτυρίαι του Θεσσαλονίκης Συμεών περί των ναών της Θεσσαλονίκης," *Επιστημονική Επετηρίς Θεολογικής Σχολής Παν. Θεσσαλονίκης* 21 (1976): 167. Also see the more recent, G. T. Dennis, "The Late Byzantine Metropolitans of Thessalonike," *DOP* 57 (2003): 260–62.

43 Vacalopoulos, "Ιστορικές έρευνες," 283–4. On the early phase of Ottoman control of the city and its debated "first occupation" see Barker, "Late Byzantine Thessalonike," 23–5, and G. T. Dennis, "The Second Turkish Capture of Thessalonica, 1391, 1394, or 1430?" *BZ* 57 (1964): 53–61; and Vacalopoulos, *Ιστορία της Θεσσαλονίκης*, 156–71.

44 For the 1430 siege and capture of the city, see Vryonis, "Ottoman Conquest," 281–338.

45 Vacalopoulos, *Ιστορία της Θεσσαλονίκης*, 175–97.

46 The document was first published by P. Papageorgiou, "Η εν Θεσσαλονίκη μονή των Βλαταίωνκαι τα μετόχια αυτής," *BZ* 8 (1899): 414ff. Also see G. A. Stogioglou, *Η εν Θεσσαλονίκη πατριαρχική μονή των Βλατάδων. Διατριβή επί διδακτορία υποβληθείσα εις την Θεολογικήν Σχολήν του Πανεπιστημίου Θεσσαλονίκης* (Thessalonike, 1971), 174, who suggests that the *metochion* should be located in the area of Vasilika on the southern slopes of Chortiatis.

47 D. Papachryssanthou, *Actes des Xénophon* (Paris, 1986), 178, for a topographic reference from the archives of the Athonite monastery of Xenophon which supports what Kolovos, *Χωρικοί και μοναχοί*, 2: 147, suggests regarding the location of the Vlatadon dependency. Also, Sambanopoulou, "Άγιος Βασίλειος," 35, note 3.

48 Moutsopoulos, "Απολλωνία," 1035–7; Sambanopoulou, "Άγιος Βασίλειος," 36–7, figs. 17.20–36, plan 3.

49 On the origin of the village name, see S. N. Liakos, *Τι πράγματι ήσαν οι Σκλαβηνοί (=Asseclae) έποικοι του Θέματος Θεσσαλονίκης; (Δρουγουβήται- Ρυγχίνοι- Σαγουδάτοι)* (Thessalonike, 1971), 146, 152.

50 For the reference from the 1478 tax document, see İstanbul Başbakanlık Arşivi, Tapu-Tahrir Defter #7 (1478), 571. For the 1530 document, see Muhâsebe-i Vilâyet-i Rûm-ili Defteri no. 167 (1530) (Ankara, 2003), 92.

51 Vacalopoulos, "Ιστορικές έρευνες," 292.

52 Vacalopoulos, "Ιστορικές έρευνες," 283, 285–9; On the expansion of Ottoman power in the Balkans led by gazi warrior leaders see H. Lowry, *The Nature of the Early Ottoman State* (Albany, NY, 2003), 45ff.; C. Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds: The Construction of the Early Ottoman State* (Berkeley, CA, 1996), 60–154.

53 Vacalopoulos, *Μακεδονία*, 85.

54 Sambanopoulou, "Ἅγιος Βασίλειος," 35–6.

55 Ibid., 36, figs. 17.0–18, 18.12–20, plans 1a, 2.

9

Life in a Late Byzantine Tower: Examples from Northern Greece

Jelena Bogdanović

Medieval masonry towers are a prominent and ubiquitous feature of the Mediterranean Basin and the Balkan Peninsula.[1] Many are in ruins and most have yet to be studied. We surmise that they were built for protection, so that they are typically associated with the architecture of an "age of insecurity." Professor Slobodan Ćurčić, who dedicated his career to the study of medieval architecture, has nourished a special interest in these buildings.[2] Honoring Professor Ćurčić, I offer this chapter surveying a discrete group of seven Late Byzantine (fourteenth to sixteenth centuries) freestanding towers in northern Greece.

Built in relative proximity to each other and in the environs of active settlements, four towers are located on the Chalkidiki peninsula and three on the banks of the Strymon River (Figure 9.1).[3] The four towers on the Chalkidiki are known by the names of nearby villages—Galatista, Siderokausia, Mariana near ancient Olynthos, and Agios Vasileios on Lake Koronia. The three towers along the Strymon River valley are the so-called towers of Marmarion and Agios Georgios near ancient Amphipolis, and the tower of Apollonia. Not only were these seven towers geographically, economically, and administratively connected with Mt. Athos at the time of their construction but they also bear strong visual and structural resemblance to numerous surviving towers there.[4] As points of comparison I shall also include some mention of towers in the region. Set against the backdrop of the Holy Mountain and the dynamic political history of the region, these towers stand as significant exemplars of both fortification and residential architecture. In addition, the distinct similarities of monastic and secular foundations are noteworthy. The following is intended as a brief survey of these monuments, which have not yet received the scholarly attention they deserve.

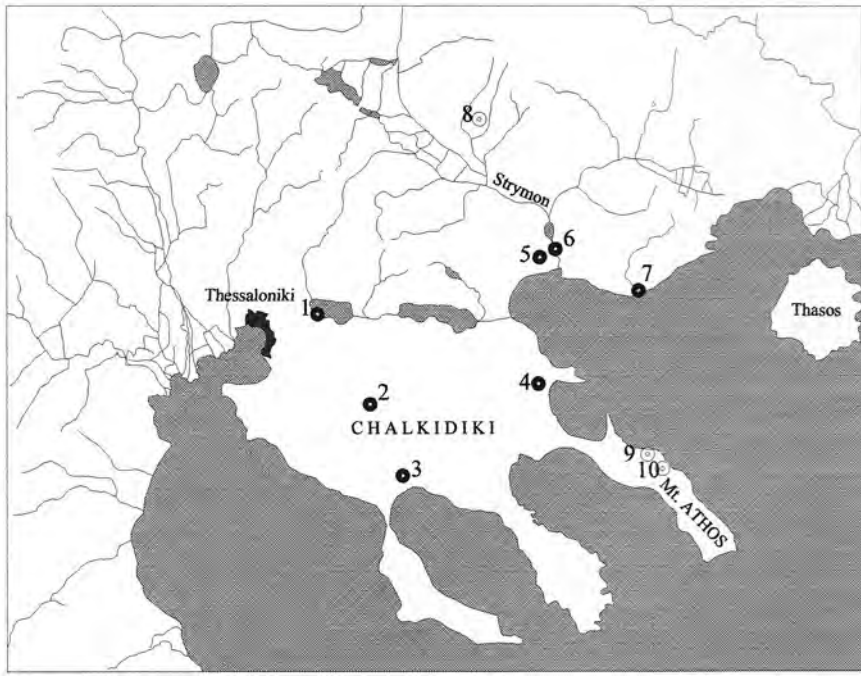


Figure 9.1 Byzantine Macedonia, with tower locations: [1] Ag. Vasileios, on Lake Koronia; [2] Galatista; [3] Mariana, near Olynthos; [4] Siderokausia; [5] Marmarion, near Amphipolis; [6] Ag. Georgios, near Amphipolis; [7] Apollonia; [8] Tower of Orestes at Serres; [9] Towers of St. Sava and King Milutin, at Hilandar; [10] Tower of Koletsou, near Vatopaidi (drawing: author).

Architecture and Architectural Decoration

The seven towers from northern Greece survive today as freestanding structures, often preserved to a height of 20 m. Initially two to seven stories tall, they are rectangular in plan, with typical external dimensions ranging from 7 to 12 m on each side.[5] The walls are made of rubble and stone masonry or occasionally fieldstone and brick (Figure 9.2).[6] The walls are exceedingly thick, as much as 2 m at ground level, tapering to almost half that thickness in the uppermost floors. The lower stories are occasionally pierced by loopholes—narrow windows and slits—positioned to provide ventilation and illumination. They also may have functioned for defense during times of siege. The upper walls usually contain additional, larger windows.

Deterioration of the walls of some towers has revealed additional information about building techniques. Of note is the use of wooden beams

Figure 9.2 Tower at Mariana, near Olynthos, exterior view (photo by P. Theocharides, *Essay*, fig. 34).

laid lengthwise within the masonry walls at regular intervals.[7] Brick was used internally for vaults and blind domes in almost all towers. Materials were occasionally acquired from older structures when ancient sites were nearby. Architectural *spolia* were used in the Marmarion tower near Amphipolis, and in the tower at Mariana (Figure 9.2).[8] The Tower of Orestes at Serres and the Tower of St. Sava at Hilandar on Mount Athos are similar in technique, suggesting that artisans trained in the same idiom built both the Athonite and non-Athonite towers. All feature uneven, alternating bands with multiple courses of brick and stone, as well as vertical zigzag and diamond-shaped patterns. The St. Sava and Marmarion towers similarly bear a strong resemblance to the interior arches of the Athonite tower of Kolitsou through the use of banded voussoirs in the arches (Figure 9.3).[9]

Despite similar architectural decoration, the group of towers under study demonstrates a variety of construction techniques. Most have smooth exterior walls built of stone with occasional use of brick and mortar, while the towers of Ag. Vasileios and Galatista have multiple projecting spurs on all four sides (Figure 9.4).[10] These external features find comparison in the towers of Ag. Georgios, King Milutin, and Ag. Vasileios, all of which were articulated externally with pilasters, which suggests a defensive character.[11] Several towers, such as at Mariana, Marmarion, and Ag. Vasileios, do not have machicolations or loopholes, disclosing their limited defensive role.[12] Not all of these have external pilasters, suggesting that some elements currently understood in a military context were in fact intended as structural and possibly symbolic additions, to convey messages of security and power.

The interiors typically consisted of a single-story space without internal partitions. More developed plans included a square main chamber and a small antechamber. The latter consisted of a narrow, rectilinear room with an entrance area and two small side niches. This is the case in the towers at Mariana and Kolitsou, both built in the 1370s (Figure 9.5). These two towers have identical plans, although Kolitsou is almost one-and-a-half times larger. Despite their similarities, they differ in masonry and overall execution. The tower at Kolitsou is built of rubble-stone masonry, while the tower in Mariana is of fieldstone with decorative wall articulation, similar to the tower in Amphipolis.[13] This suggests that while the master builder(s) who laid out the two towers may have been trained in the same tradition and used the same design principles, they employed different teams of masons.

Most towers from this group have only one external point of entrance, raised at least 2 m above ground level and frequently located as high as the second floor (Figures 9.3–9.4).[14] None of the original doors are preserved. On Mt. Athos, the wooden entrance door of the Kaliagra Tower of Koutloumousiou Monastery and the original metal riveted door of the tower entrance in Karakallou Monastery give some suggestion of their appearance.[15] A wooden bar may have provided additional security.[16] At Kolitsou the only entrance

Figure 9.3 Tower of Marmarion, near Amphipolis. Detail of banded voussoirs (photo: Y. Yannelos, from Zikos, *Amphipolis*, fig. 18).

Figure 9.4 Tower at Galatista, Chalkidiki. Exterior view (photo by S. Ćurčić, from Theocharides, "Galatista," fig. 5).

was elevated as much as 5 m above ground level and accessible only by rope ladder or removable wooden bridge, so the tower was presumably secure.[17] The tower at Siderokausia offers an alternative solution, with two relatively low entrances opposite one another. This seems to be a modification designed to allow inhabitants the possibility of escape during times of siege.

Judging from the beam brackets frequently found in the interior, all towers under discussion had wooden floors. Internal communication between floors was achieved either by spiral or straight stone staircases built within the walls or by removable wooden stairs or rope ladders. Sometimes brick arches and vaults appear, usually in the lowest or the uppermost levels of a tower. The lowest floors were usually voluminous, vaulted spaces. They were used either as water cisterns, to judge by the presence of hydraulic mortar in some cases, or as storage spaces. Chambers without external openings, for example the tower at Kolitsou, also may have served as places of refuge during attack (Figures 9.4–9.5).[18]

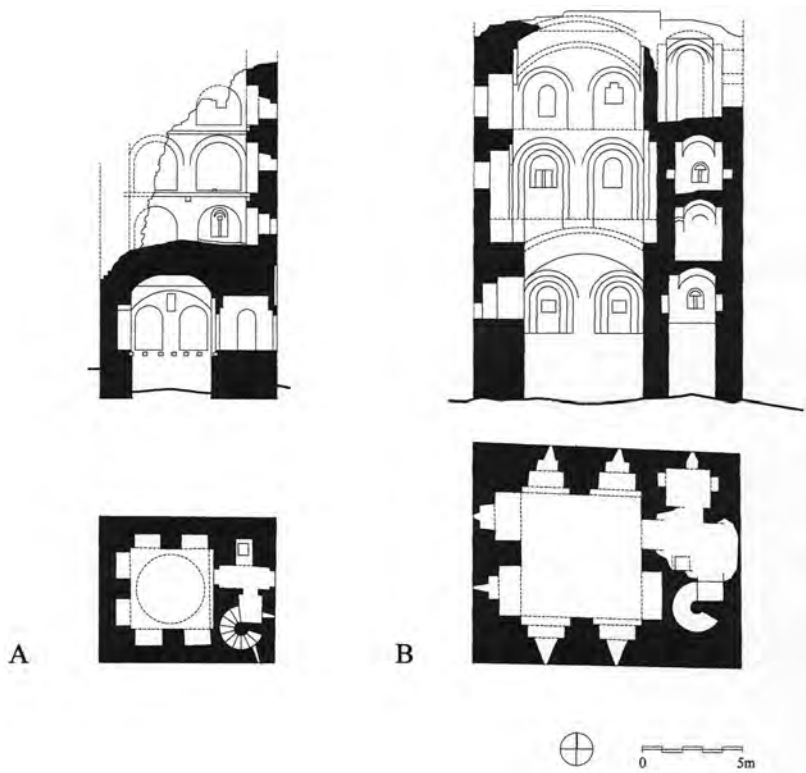


Figure 9.5 Towers of Mariana and Kolitsou. Comparative analysis of the plans and cross-sections (drawing: author, after Theocharides, "Mariana," fig. 6, and idem, "Kaletzi (Kolitsou)," fig. 3).

Latrines could be set into the niches of exterior walls, as is the case in the Galatista and Kolitsou towers.[19] The toilets may have been similar to the latrine in the tower of King Milutin or in the tower of the Transfiguration in Vatopaidi Monastery.[20] Archeology suggests that no advanced sewage system existed, and all waste would have been discharged outside the tower along its exterior walls. Water and drainage systems are apparent in the Siderokausia tower in its damaged southern and western walls. Here three vertical conduits, made of ceramic pipes approximately 30 cm long, were built into the wall.[21] Similar examples have been noted elsewhere.[22] Several stone fireplaces built within the walls on different levels in the Siderokausia tower suggest that residing in a tower during cold weather was possible.[23] The presence of latrines, water cisterns, water supply, and heating systems along with storage spaces suggests that these towers were equipped to house their inhabitants for prolonged periods when necessary.

Niches embedded in the east wall of the top floors of the Mariana and Kolitsou towers point to the existence there of upper-story chapels.[24] Likewise, the tower of Ag. Vasileios at Lake Koronia may have contained a chapel, although its vaulting and uppermost walls have collapsed.[25] As most of the towers are in ruins, the presence of upper-story chapels is uncertain. If chapels existed, however, they would not offer evidence for differentiating monastic from non-monastic structures, since we know so little about private chapels and devotional spaces in domestic contexts.[26] Even so, chapels can be found in non-monastic towers, as exemplified by the surviving tower in the medieval town of Golubac (before 1337) on the Danube River in eastern Serbia.[27] Square in plan, the tower was among the town's oldest structures and is considered its first residential building. While its upper floors have disappeared, the presence of three niches in the eastern wall confirms that this room functioned as a chapel.

The foregoing architectural analysis suggests the towers were inhabitable. Their overall size, form, and interior organization suggest they provided the possibility of a relatively safe residential existence during the Late Byzantine period. The forms of many of the towers still alluded to their defensive role. Others clearly lost their protective function, but it was still necessary to convey notions of power and security. The presence of many features, including latrines, water drainage and collection, and fireplaces, confirm that they were at least partially and occasionally inhabited. It is perhaps worth mentioning that the sweeping views and sensory experience of being elevated above the surrounding landscape remained quintessential and appealing components of life in a tower.[28] In one seventeenth-century account, the traveler Hadji Jalfa, gazing at the Siderokausia towers, wrote about them as "a villa standing on a hill slope and having the best view towards the sea."[29] If the towers from northern Greece functioned as watchtowers and landmarks, I would suggest that those who kept watch also resided in them.

The Role of Towers within Settlements

Scholars have noted the disposition of towers within the fortification system of the wider region of Macedonia.[30] By the Late Byzantine period these towers continued to protect the territory from pirate raids and foreign intrusions. They were important for the protection of monastic and private estates. As components of such a network, the towers located on cultivated land, natural passages, and primary communication routes (which merged in Thessaloniki and Mt. Athos) potentially served as checkpoints and observation posts connected to castles, monasteries, and cities.[31]

While the ruins of these towers in northern Greece are now freestanding edifices, some may have existed within larger fortifications or residential complexes no longer extant. All towers surveyed from this area are contemporary with or predate other towers scattered throughout the Balkans. The majority of these were integral parts of larger complexes.[32] I propose three possible explanations for their development: buildings could have been added buildings to an existing tower; a tower could have been added to an existing house; or a tower may have become an integral part of a settlement as it grew by accretion. For example, the fourteenth-century tower at Galatista seems to have constituted the center of a large estate, around which the modern settlement developed.[33] Excavations revealed the remains of watermills and a cistern, which seem to predate the tower.[34] Today a nearby church and a number of other public buildings are grouped around the square to form the village center. This scheme resembles a small Athonite enclosure, such as the Mylopotamos *metochion*, which grew around a tower.[35]

The transformation of freestanding towers into complexes with additional enclosures and buildings is comparable to the creation of arsenals, fortified monastic outposts, on Mt. Athos. In addition to their function as observation posts and places of refuge, arsenal towers could have been continuously inhabited by a monk or a small monastic community. As a combination of tower, with living quarters, sometimes a boathouse, and occasionally a small church enclosed within precinct walls, they mimic the evolution of monasteries on a smaller scale. In the case of the non-Athonite towers analyzed here, their relative disposition within the immediate environment suggests that some might have become formative elements of local residential complexes and settlements.

Two of the towers, those at Galatista and Ag. Vasileios, may have generated the development of modern villages around them.[36] Conversely, the towers of Marmarion and Ag. Georgios are positioned on either side of a bridge across the Strymon River near Amphipolis.[37] This expanded configuration of tower and settlement may have conveyed an image of a fortified town. Thus, the modern village of Isvoros, originally surrounded by a triad of towers of which only that of Siderokausia survives, was described by a mid-sixteenth century

French traveler, P. Belon, as "a great village … not well-built but which resembled a town."[38]

The Founders and Residents of Towers

The actual residents of the surveyed towers from northern Greece remain elusive, although textual evidence provides clues concerning possible founders and inhabitants. In 1376 Chariton, a dignitary of the Hungarian-Vlach Church and *Protos* of Mount Athos, considered the relatively well-built tower of Kolitsou to be a recent work of the Byzantine Emperor John VI Kantakouzenos (r. 1347–1354).[39] A much earlier marble inscription, perhaps dating to the eleventh century and located today in the Byzantine and Christian Museum in Athens (BXM 861) acknowledged the foundation of a tower by a certain *depostes* Leon of Athens, who was also a *synkellos* and a *rhaiktor*.[40] These were titles reserved for the highest ecclesiastical and political officials in Byzantine society, indicating that both church and civic officials may have founded towers. Monograms and decorative brickwork in the exterior of some towers suggest certain aesthetic and proprietary concerns. At Amphipolis a now lost inscription identified two brothers and well-known Byzantine generals, Alexius and Ioannes, as founders of the tower in 1367 as a dependency of the Pantokrator Monastery on Mount Athos.[41] The tower of Mariana, almost a replica of the tower in Amphipolis, was connected with farmland originally owned by the Athonite monastery of Docheiariou (Figure 9.6).[42] Approximately at the same time when the two brothers acquired the Amphipolis tower, a *chrysobullos logos* issued by Byzantine Emperor Andronikos IV (r. 1376–1379) confirmed that certain Radoslav was allowed to live in the tower in Kalamaria, property of the Monastery of Ag. Paulos.[43]

Ownership of these towers can be related to the monastic institution of *adelphaton* ("fellowship"), which provided the *adelphatarios* (holder) with living allowances within or outside the monastery for life. Established in the eleventh century, *adelphata* enabled *adelphatarioi* to acquire towers, a practice which acquired renewed popularity beginning in the fourteenth century. In the 1420s the Kastriot family bought the tower of Ag. Georgios, today known as the Arbanaški Pirg in the vicinity of the Hilandar monastery and four *adelphata*, which granted them the right to remain within the monastery for the rest of their lives.[44]

By the 1330s, high officials held the privilege of founding towers. The inscription on the walls of the so-called Tower of Hreljo at Rila monastery in Bulgaria informs us that the *protosevast* Hreljo, a high official under Stefan Dušan of Serbia (r. 1331–1355) founded the tower in 1334/1335.[45] At Serres, a brick inscription on the tower reads + Πύργος Στ(ε)φ(ά)νου Βασ(ιλέως) όν έκτησεν Ορέστης +, identifying its builder as a certain Orestes, a castle-

Figure 9.6 Tower at Mariana, near Olynthos. Detail of brick monogram in the exterior wall (photo: S. Ćurčić).

guard of Serres in the service of Emperor Stefan Dušan.[46] It seems that monks, high ecclesiastical and administrative officials, soldiers and members of the military aristocracy founded towers in the Late Byzantine period and possibly resided in them as well.[47]

My assessment of *adelphation*, the institution which provided monastic citizenship for lay people who invested in it in exchange for the security of life in a tower, suggests the permeability of religious and secular, monastic and non-monastic organizations in the Late Byzantine period. Even if most of the towers analyzed here were initially built and used as monastic properties, their fate once the institution of *adelphata* ceased remains obscure. Were the towers associated with monastic estates gradually abandoned or reinhabited? Analysis of the towers examined here suggests, among other things, the transition of *adelphation* to potentially new forms of citizenship within a highly diversified society. From the late fourteenth century on, important social changes in Byzantine society effected changes in the residential aspect of towers as these became associated less with the military aristocracy and more with prosperous individuals, local authorities, and merchants.

Surviving documents concerning the ownership of some sixteenth-century and later towers indirectly support such a hypothesis. Towers were inhabited by local feudal lords (as at Plav in Montenegro and Kiustendil in Bulgaria) and leaders of clans (as in the Mani).[48] By the fifteenth century, towers in the northern Balkans were residential quarters, occasionally bearing names of their female owners. Mara's Tower near Kuršumlija in central Serbia was presumably a residence of Mara, daughter of the Serbian Despot Djurdje Branković (r. 1427–1456) and a wife of Ottoman Sultan Murat II (r. 1421–1451).[49] According to surviving narratives, Mara returned from Edirne following her husband's death and lived in her tower. Twelve recorded fifteenth- to sixteenth-century towers that once existed in the medieval town of Kratovo in Macedonia were privately owned and also bore the names of their historic owners.[50] All these individuals who gained their authority in the local communities through wealth acquired by trade and silver production may have expressed their status by living in a tower.[51]

The obvious diversification of social rank, gender, and ethnicity of those who founded and lived in towers in the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries in northern Greece points to various expectations concerning living standards. Life in towers may at first have symbolized the status and privilege of royal or local aristocratic residences, perhaps offering a higher standard of living. It cannot be assumed, however, that living standards in a tower were consistent across temporal, geographical, and cultural boundaries. Byzantine society changed over time, and the intricacies of daily life and attitudes toward the built environment are exceedingly difficult to flesh out. Interdisciplinary approaches and the subtle combination of archaeological surveys and anthropological fieldwork related to towers and their inhabitants is still

needed in order to further illuminate our understanding of life in a tower in the Late Byzantine period.

Notes

1 S. Ćurčić, "Architecture in the Age of Insecurity," in Ćurčić and Hadjitryphonos, *Secular Medieval Architecture* (Thessalonike, 1997), 19–51; idem, "Tower of King Milutin, Mt. Athos, Greece," in *Secular Medieval Architecture*, 216–17; idem, "Late Medieval Fortified Palaces in the Balkans: Security and Survival," *Mnemeio kai Perivallon* 6 (2001): 11–48.

2 S. Ćurčić "Pyrgos–Stl'p–Donjon. A Western Fortification Concept on Mount Athos, and Its Sources," *BSCAbstr* 7 (1981): 21–2; "Alexander's Tomb: A Column or a Tower? A Fourteenth-Century Case of Verbal Confusion and Visual Interpretation," in *To Hellēnikon. Studies in Honor of Speros Vryonis, Jr.*, ed. J. Stanojevich Allen et al. (New Rochelle, NY, 1993), 2: 25–48; idem, "Monastic Cells in Medieval Serbian Church Towers. Survival of an Early Byzantine Monastic Concept and Its Meaning," in *Sofia. Sbornik statei po iskusstvu Vizantii i Drevnei Rusi v chest A. I. Komecha* (Moscow, 2006), 491–512.

3 For the basic bibliography on the towers in question see "Pyrgos," *ODB*, 3: 1760–1761; *An Essay on Byzantine Fortification. Northern Greece 4th–15th c.* (Athens, 2001), esp. 41–2; *The Towers of Mount Athos* (Thessalonike, 2002); P. Theocharides, "Tower, Mariana, Greece," in *Secular Medieval Architecture*, 220–21; P. Theocharidis and I. A. Papaggelos, "Tower, Galatista, Halkidiki, Greece," *Secular Medieval Architecture*, 222–3; P. Theocharidis, "The Consolidation Works on the South Tower at Siderokausia, Chalkidiki," in *Pirgoi kai kastra*, ed. N. K. Moutsopoulos (Thessaloniki, 1980), 76–97; P. Theocharidis, "South Tower, Siderokausia, Greece," *Secular Medieval Architecture*, 224–5; N. Zikos, *Amphipolis. Early Christian and Byzantine Amphipolis* (Athens, 1989), 22–3; N. Bakirtzis, "The Buttressed Tower at Hagios Vasileios near Thessaloniki," *BSCAbstr* 30 (2004): 54–5; N. Bakirtzis, Chapter 8 in this volume. Some other freestanding towers, such as those on the islands Thasos and Samothrace, or similar towers from the wider region, such as Tophala on Skadar Lake, should also be considered.

4 *Towers of Mount Athos*, 18–23, 40–43.

5 For example the south tower at Siderokausia measures ~7 x 6 m; Mariana ~8.8 x 7.3 m; and Galatista ~12 x 10 m. These measurements are similar to Athonite towers with residential function, such as the Kolitsou Tower ~13.10 x 10.30 m.

6 Zikos, *Amphipolis*, 22–3; Theocharides, "Mariana," 220–21; *Essay on Byzantine Fortification*, 42.

7 *Towers of Mount Athos*, 52, fig. 4; 98–9.

8 D. M. Robinson, "A New Greek Inscription from Macedonia," *AJA* 37 (1933): 602–4, fig. 2.

9 Zikos, *Amphipolis*, 22–3, fig. 18; P. Theocharides, "Tower of Kaletzi (Kolitsou), Mt. Athos, Greece," in *Secular Medieval Architecture*, 218–19, fig. 5.

10 Towers with multiple projecting spur walls crowned by massive arches represent a distinctive type of freestanding tower in the Balkans, whose origin is still obscure. These towers developed either under the influence of the French *donjon*

as Ćurčić suggests, "Pyrgos–Stl'p–Donjon," 21–2, or under the influence of earlier Byzantine forms, as P. Theocharidis suggests, "The Byzantine Fortified Enclosure of the Monastery of Chelandariou," *HilZb* 7 (1989): 59–70.

11 In the fifteenth century the new weaponry led to the development of polygonal with openings for cannons, as in towers at the Great Lavra, Vatopedi, and Iviron monasteries; see Ćurčić, "Pyrgos–Stl'p–Donjon," 21–2; Theocharidis, "Fortified Enclosure," 59–70; idem, "Galatista," 222–3; N. Chaneva-Dechevska, "Khrelo's Tower, Rila Monastery, Bulgaria," in *Secular Medieval Architecture*, 234–5; *Towers of Mount Athos*, 16, 66–79; *Essay on Byzantine Fortifications*, 42, fig. 32.

12 Theocharides, "Kaletzi (Kolitsou)," 218–19; Theocharides, "Mariana," 220–21; *Towers of Mount Athos*, 50–53; Bakirtzis, Chapter 8 in this volume.

13 Theocharides, "Mariana," 220–21, figs. 2–3; Theocharides, "Kaletzi (Kolitsou)," 218–19, fig. 1; Zikos, *Amphipolis*, 22–3, fig. 18.

14 Theocharides, "Siderokausia," 224–5.

15 See: *Towers of Mount Athos*, 90, fig. 4; 115, fig. 17.

16 The sixteenth-century Pirkova Kula in Kuestendil, Bulgaria, possibly had a wooden door secured by a wooden bar. Furkov, "Pirkova Kula," *Secular Medieval Architecture*, 232–3. Holes for a wooden beam to bolt the entrance door from the inside are found in the tower of Nea Skete of St. Paul's monastery; *Towers of Mount Athos*, 136.

17 *Towers of Mount Athos*, 50–53; Theocharides, "Kaletzi (Kolitsou)," 218–19.

18 *Towers of Mount Athos*, 52–3, figs. 7–8.

19 Theocharides, "Galatista," 222–3; *Towers of Mount Athos*, 51.

20 *Towers of Mount Athos*, 44–9, figs. 27–8.

21 Theocharides, "Consolidation Works," 76–97.

22 A similar circular drainpipe between the monastery and the arsenal tower existed in Iviron monastery; see *Towers of Mount Athos*, 40–43, 58–61. Ceramic circular pipes were also used at Hilandar monastery; see M. Kovačević, "Ispod kaldrme u porti Hilandara," *HilZb* 10 (1998): 135–44.

23 Some fireplaces could also have served as a smithy or other workshops. The smithy furnace from Zographou arsenal tower verifies accounts that the two identified fireplaces and lateral branches of water conduits from the Siderokausia tower at some point served in the production of silver. I. A. Papangelos and J. Tavlakis, "The Maritime Fort of the Monastery Karakalou in Mt. Athos," in *Pirgoi kai kastra*, ed. N. K. Moutsopoulos (1980), 99–120; Theocharides, "Consolidation Works," 76–97; *Towers of Mount Athos*, 59–61, fig. 17; 100–5, fig. 19, 24; 112–17, fig. 15.

24 Theocharides, "Mariana," 220–21; Theocharides, "Kaletzi (Kolitsou)," 218–19; *Towers of Mount Athos*, 53, fig. 6.

25 Bakirtzis, Chapter 8 this volume.

26 "Life of St. Mary the Younger," in *Holy Women of Byzantium: Ten Saints' Lives in English Translation*, ed. A.-M. Talbot (Washington, D.C., 1996), 257, records that Mary had to go twice a day to the church in Vizye because "there was no private chapel in her house." The text confirms that some houses had private chapels.

27 A. Deroko, *Srednjevekovni gradovi u Srbiji, Crnoj Gori i Makedoniji* (Belgrade, 1950), 112–13, figs. 65–6.

28 V. Tourptsoglou-Stephanidou, "The Roman-Byzantine Building Regulations," *Saopštenja* 31 (1998–1999), 38–63.

29 Theocharides, "Consolidation Works," 76–97, quotation on 97.

30 About the role of these towers in the fortification system of Byzantine Macedonia with Thessaloniki in its center see: *Essay on Byzantine Fortifications*, 48–53, fig. 1, on pp. 20–21.

31 F. Dölger also records medieval monastic documents that testify to the existence of the coastal tower of Zographou monastery in 1286/7 and "*palaioi pirgoi*" ("old towers") as landmarks and observation outposts, in *Aus den Schatzkammern des Heiligen Berges, 115 Urkunden und 50 Urkundensiegel aus 10 Jahrhunderten* (Munich, 1948), 136–8.

32 For example, P. Thomo, "Village Houses, Kamenicë, Albania," in *Secular Medieval Architecture*, 246–7, records fourteenth- to sixteenth-century village houses with towers attached to them.

33 Theocharides, "Galatista," 222–3.

34 Ibid.

35 *Towers of Mount Athos*, 23, 40–43, 72–9.

36 Bakirtzis, Chapter 8 this volume, argues that the tower at Ag. Vasileios belonged to eponymous monastery.

37 *Essay on Byzantine Fortifications*, 42; Zikos, *Amphipolis*, 22–3.

38 Theocharides, "Consolidation Works," 76–97, quote on 79.

39 Theocharides, "Kaletzi (Kolitsou)," 218–19.

40 For the titles see: *ODB*, s.v. "Despotes," 614; "Synkellos," 1993–4; "Rhaiktor" 1787–8. The *despotes* Leon may be identified as Leon II, eleventh-century Metropolitan of Athens.

41 Zikos, *Amphipolis*, 22–3.

42 *Essay on Byzantine Fortifications*, 42.

43 Dölger, *Schatzkammer des Heiligen Berges*, 48–9.

44 *ODB*, s.v. "Adelphaton," 19; Dölger, *Schatzkammer des Heiligen Berges*, 43–7, 48–9; M. Živojinović, "Adelfati u Vizanitji i srednjevekovnoj Srbiji," *ZRVI* 11 (1968): 241–70; Živojinović, *Svetogorske kelije i pirgovi u srednjem veku*, Balkanološki institut SANU 13 (Beograd, 1972), 117.

45 For the inscription see N. Andrejević-Kun, ed., *Istorija primenjene umetnosti kod Srba, 1. Srednjovekovna Srbija* (Belgrade, 1977), 51.

46 For the inscription see Andrejević-Kun, ed., *Istorija primenjene*, fig. 44. Moreover, article 127 of a Legal Code (*Zakonik*), issued by Emperor Stefan Dušan (first in 1349 in Skopje and then amended in 1354 in Serres) prescribed that wherever a tower (*koula*) collapsed, the citizens of a local town and/or the district which belongs to that town (*joupa*) were responsible for rebuilding it; see B. Marković, ed., *Dušanov zakonik* (Belgrade, 1986), 74.127.

47 "Pyrgos," *ODB*, 3: 1760–61, suggests that peasants may have inhabited some of towers, notably those that belonged to a *metochion*.

48 Y. Saitas, *Mani* (Athens, 1990), 20–21; D. V. Vagiakakos, *Mane* (Athens, 1968), 1–21; Deroko, *Srednjevekovni*, 20; C. Hadžipecova, "Towers of Kratovo, F.Y.R.O.M.," in *Secular Medieval Architecture*, 230–31.

49 Deroko, *Srednjevekovni*, 128.

50 Still extant towers of Simić, Krste, Zlatko (previously bought from Asan Efendi), Emin-bey, Hadži-Kostov, together with now lost towers which once belonged to Jazbus, M'ze, Mango, Spaiska, Došević, and Sut, reveal that over time members of different ethnic communities had a right to possess and live in a tower; see Hadžipecova, "Kratovo," 230–31; Deroko, *Srednjevekovni*, 23–4.

51 Hadžipecova, "Kratovo," 230–31; Deroko, *Srednjevekovni*, 23–4.

10

Imperial and Aristocratic Funerary Panel Portraits in the Middle and Late Byzantine Periods

Katherine Marsengill

In the twelfth-century typikon written for the monastery of the Mother of God Kosmosoteira at Pherrai, Isaak Komnenos, brother of Emperor John II, addresses the transfer of furnishings from a tomb monument that he had already set up at the Church of the Chora in Constantinople where he had intended to be buried, to the site of his new tomb in the Kosmosoteira.[1] Along with other furnishings, Isaak desires to have the portraits of his parents brought to his new tomb, but he gives explicit instructions to leave his own portrait, described as executed "in the vanity of [his] boyhood," behind. What precisely Isaak was referring to has been a point of speculation for many scholars over the years, including the extent to which the fourteenth-century mosaic of the Deesis in the esonarthex of the Chora featuring Isaak in *prokynesis* before the interceding Virgin reflects this original portrait.[2]

Because Isaak specifically mentions his own portrait only to address his rejection of it in an outward display of humility, it could be interpreted as countermanding the expected practice during this period of placing images of one's self and family members at one's tomb. We know from surviving evidence that such portraits in fresco were not uncommon to the Middle and Late Byzantine periods.[3] This chapter, however, proposes that funerary portraits on panels existed as well, and were occasionally arranged on the tombs of imperial and aristocratic personages.

It is likely that the portraits Isaak mentions were on panels. Although it is not impossible to move mural portraits, it seems reasonable to suggest that these were easily transferred with the other portable objects, such as the icon stand and bronze railing that Isaak requests, and not dismantled from a larger group portrait in mosaic or fresco. If that is indeed the case, panel painting presents the most logical medium. When describing the arrangement of his tomb in Chapter 89, Isaak is most concerned with the placement of certain

icons on and around the monument. His personal *enkolpion* of the Theotokos is to be fastened in a silver setting to the lid of his tomb. The icon of the Virgin Kosmosoteira, perhaps the most holy of the monastery because it was "sent down to me [Isaak] from heaven," is "to be placed at one end of my tomb … to mediate for my wretched soul" (Chapter 90). Presumably this icon was already in Isaak's possession, the monastery's restoration under Isaak having been dedicated to his "Benefactress," the Virgin Kosmosoteira, whose icon he deemed was gifted to him in a miraculous fashion. The portraits of his parents were evidently of great importance to him, as well, announcing his bloodline and identity to future observers of his tomb.

It is clear Isaak did not want his own portrait to appear at his tomb with the portraits of his parents. It still remains to be seen if we might propose that these were on panel or if we must assign them to the category of funerary portraits painted on walls above tombs such as can be found in the parekklesion at the Chora or in various surviving tomb memorials in the churches of Mistra and Cappadocia.

There are, admittedly, no surviving funerary panels from the Byzantine world. Yet there are parallel examples from the larger cultural sphere that may shed light on the practice. One painted panel, destroyed in 1934, was placed above the tomb of the young Prince Ioannes Asen in the Megaspelaion Monastery. Dating to the mid-fourteenth century, the panel depicted the prince accepted directly into the company—indeed practically into the lap—of the Virgin.[4] Similar is the example from Korčula, Croatia, dating to the third quarter of the fourteenth century, with a portrait on a panel of a female child welcomed by the Enthroned Virgin, which may have been located at her tomb,[5] just as the same composition of the deceased before the enthroned Virgin appears frescoed above Tomb G at the Kariye Camii (Figure 10.1).[6]

Four fourteenth-century icons from the Church of Chrysaliniotissa, Cyprus, feature prominent portraits of the deceased.[7] The portraits are placed at the bottom of extremely elongated panels, isolated on gold grounds, while far above, in separate fields, are the images of holy figures. In the icon of Christ, the deceased Maria, who died 1 August 1356, is clearly distinguished from the donor portraits above her, her parents, Manuel Xeros and Euphemia, who symbolically offer the panel with their gesture of raised hands, committing their daughter's soul to Christ.[8] Their poses mirror the angels just above them. Maria, by contrast, stands alone in the bottom third of the composition, arms crossed over her chest, eyes open and gazing out from the panel. Annemarie Weyl Carr has suggested that these may have even been placed near the tombs, hung on slender Gothic piers, a blend of Byzantine and Western artistic traditions in that Crusader outpost.[9]

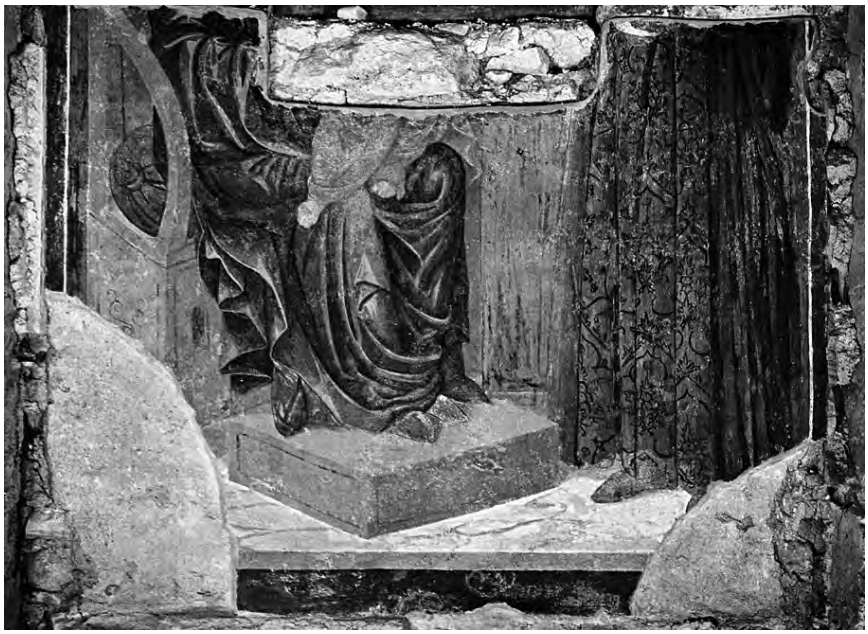


Figure 10.1 Istanbul, Kariye Camii, Tomb G. Portrait of the deceased with the Virgin. Fresco (photo: Paul A. Underwood, *The Kariye Djami*, vols. 1–3, 1966, Princeton University Press, reprinted with the permission of Princeton University Press).

Compelling textual evidence points to a larger practice of placing portrait panels on tombs in Byzantium proper. At the behest of Theodora Synadene, the fourteenth-century poet Manuel Philes composed an inscription for a portrait that was installed at the tomb of the Sebastokrator Constantine (d. ca. 1275), Theodora's father.[10] Theodora, of noble bloodline, joined in marriage to another of similar patrilineage, became, after her husband's death, abbess of her foundation, the monastery of the Theotokos Bebaia Elpis. At some point, she moved her father's tomb to the church to join the funerary monuments of other relatives. She placed upon the tomb a portrait of her father, which she had brought from his previous tomb.

Because the object is no longer extant, exactly what this panel looked like cannot be known. There are, however, several clues in the epigram to suggest its appearance and medium. The poem mentions an original portrait on panel bearing the figure of Constantine and perhaps his wife Eirene, who was buried in the same tomb. It can be inferred from the poem, which describes hollowed-out forms and painted figures, that in the years after Constantine's death, his son Michael revised an existing wooden panel portrait of his father and added metal repoussé to it.[11] After Michael's death in 1321, Theodora

altered the panel yet again when she transferred it to the new tomb, adding a portrait of her brother and commissioning the poem as final commemoration for them both: "he [Constantine] takes to himself this Michael … who, being good on account of his loving [filial] character, took care of his father even after he was buried, and after scraping off the painting's wooden panel, so that on it he might have the great man [alone] represented, but failing [in this], now [Michael] is represented with his father in a funerary [portrait]."[12] The panel adorned the tomb of Constantine, even though Michael was buried elsewhere.[13] Like Issak's parents at the Kosmosoteira and the parents of those pictured on Cypriot funerary panels, the text indicates the practice of including portraits of family members not buried at the site, although here it is the son of the deceased whose image joins that of his father at the grave.

Given the evidence for the panel painting above, about which no sacred figure is described—indeed, emphasis is on Michael's futile effort to honor Constantine alone on the panel,[14] as well as Isaak's testimony for his own portrait and portraits of his family members—we might expect panel portraits to have been a regular part of funerary decoration. For those who could afford elaborate tombs placed within their own foundations, it would have been seen as normal practice to decorate them with images of themselves, family members, and patron saints. The portraits of the deceased, ideally taken from life, as one may discern from Isaak's typikon, followed them to their sepulchral abodes, functioning as they did in life to delineate the features and character of those buried in the tomb, to provide a visual focus to earthly viewers for commemoration, and, when deemed imperative, to establish important familial links to further aid their identification, both to those living and to the heavenly hierarchs.

When these portraits were placed in conjunction with holy icons of Christ, the Virgin, or saints, the aspirations of the deceased were realized in the visible manifestation of their eternal supplication before the presence of the saints and Christ. Underlying this, however, was also a statement of achievement; viewers could see the portrayed interacting with and in the company of holy personages. Not just humble supplication, these were visual statements of privilege in the earthly hierarchy that would follow them to the afterlife.

One might suppose, given Isaak's specific mention of portraits in his typikon for the Kosmosoteira, that if there were to be portraits at the tomb, an aristocratic founder's typikon would surely mention them. It would seem that Isaak's concern is rare precisely because of the special circumstances of his commission for a new tomb, and because as proof of his humility he rejects his own portrait.

The typikon written by Theodora Synadene provides additional information.[15] Theodora makes arrangements for the commemoration of all her family members, her husband, her parents, her children, in-laws—indeed, 15 in all, each involving to varying degrees liturgies, prayers, candles,

and psalmody. In the careful preparation of these ritual observances for her illustrious family, not once does she mention portraits. Yet, from the epigraphical evidence, her father's tomb was decorated with a panel portrait for which she herself had commissioned its inscription. Moreover, the Lincoln College Typikon is remarkable for its extensive presentation of portraits of Theodora's family. Ten pages are filled with 21 portraits, presenting Theodora three times as a secular personage, a nun, and a donor. Each portrait is accompanied by an inscription of the person's lengthy name, enumerating his or her bloodline, not unlike the manner in which Theodora presents each family member's full name in her typikon.

Folio 1v presents the viewer with portraits of Constantine and Eirene standing against a gold leaf background, wearing rich garments (Figure 10.2).[16] At the uppermost edge of the folio is a small representation of the Virgin. It is possible that this image resembled, perhaps was copied from, the original panel portrait of Constantine and his wife described above.

With so little evidence, it is perhaps not surprising that there has not been more discussion of the funerary panel portraits in the post-Iconoclastic period.[17] The practice of placing portrait panels of the deceased at the tomb or in the grave was common in the Late Antique period, but it has been generally accepted that funerary portraiture of this type ceased in Byzantium after the rise of the icon. Thus, the greater challenge has been historiographical, characterized by a general reluctance in scholarship to complicate the definition of the panel portrait in Byzantium beyond the perimeters of holy icons.

André Grabar and Hans Belting have both asserted that the painted funerary panel of Late Antiquity disappeared—gradually through religious practice, then definitively during the Iconoclastic controversy—as icons usurped the commemorative function of the panel portrait from the common person and assigned it exclusively to the cult of saints.[18] Indeed, the term "panel portrait" is used to refer to icons of Christ and the saints, leaving little room for panel portraits of a different nature to exist at all within the definition of the Byzantine painted panel. Based on the majority of evidence from iconophile definitions of the icon versus the idol, this assumption seems valid, for if panel portraits were displayed on tombs, the arrangement would resemble that of saints' shrines. In the context of a church, the panel would have been included as part of processions and liturgical commemoration and associated with holy relics or cult icons.

Just as his brother John II had dictated in the famous Pantokrator typikon, in Chapter 90 of his own typikon, Isaak required the monks to participate in daily evening services at his tomb for his commemoration.[19] He asks them "to pronounce the *trisagion* and say a certain number of *Kyrie eleisons*," in front of the holy icons at his tomb in order to "propitiate God and the Mother of God." In describing the ritual, Isaak suggests that the monks perform before all the

Figure 10.2 Lincoln College Typikon (ms gr. 35), fol. 1v. Constantine Palaeologos and Eirene. Tempera on vellum (photo: Oxford, Lincoln College).

icons at his tomb. Much earlier, in Chapter 7, Isaak mentions the icon of the Virgin Kosmosoteira as the primary focus of this evening ritual. Even though he does not specify its whereabouts or its relationship to the tomb, it is clear that the ritual is the same one prescribed for his daily commemoration.

It is interesting to imagine all the icons in place at the tomb, along with the portraits of his parents, in the context of daily religious commemorations. Equally compelling is the notion that the tomb, located at the left side of the narthex, may have been where the most holy and important icon of the monastery was permanently on display, inviting all who pass into the church, monks and pilgrims alike, to venerate it, and serving as the locus for Isaak's commemoration each evening after the monks' dismissal from Vespers. In Chapter 10 the typikon further required an all-night vigil to begin at Vespers on the eve of the feast day of the Koimesis of the Virgin. This celebration, which Isaak intended to be more splendid than all others, was combined with his own commemoration, marked by periodic repetitions of the intercessory canon on behalf of his soul.

Though Isaak claims throughout his typikon that the monastery's restoration and the memorial services held there for him are a product of his anxiety over the fate of his immortal soul, and consistently reminds us that his efforts are offered to the Virgin in hopes of redemption for his previous failures, he is nevertheless aware that the extent of his commemoration could be somehow misconstrued. In a telling passage, he voices his concern, writing in Chapter 91, "I have made the services to commemorate me, and their form, dependent upon the virtuous conduct and the good conscience of the superior, not wishing to burden his freedom of choice by any *perverse or compulsory* [requirements]. Hark to my words, O my father and superior, and by no means disdain my wretched soul's prayer for mercy." He is thus cognizant that his orders may go against the abbot's sensibilities. Although written in the form of a plea, Isaak overrides the abbot's concerns. For evening rituals in front of the most holy icon of the monastery, before the grandest tomb on the church's ground, might indeed resemble the veneration of a saint, and the dual commemoration of Isaak's soul on the eve of the Koimesis may further elicit comparisons between his own sleep of death and the "sleep" of the Virgin.

In the case of imperial portraiture, the mechanisms are apparent by which display was accepted. Comparisons between the emperor and saintly intercessors were common. The Byzantines understood the emperor as among the blessed, that he was elevated immediately to the heavenly realm upon his death. His visual representation proclaimed him as Christ's reflection, a new King David, in the company of saints and archangels.[20] In light of his status, it becomes less problematic to find similarities between ceremonies and images associated with saints and those associated with emperors. Members of the aristocracy who were portrayed in this fashion may have had assumptions

concerning their places in the hierarchy of the afterlife. If not in the same company of the emperor and the saints, seated nearest to Christ, they would nonetheless expect to take their elevated worldly rank with them to heaven.

Extant examples of funerary portraits in other media attest to a wider practice of depicting the deceased at the tomb. Besides the relatively large number of frescoed portraits above tombs from the capital, the Balkans, and Cappadocia already mentioned, there are a few examples of funerary sculpture. Fragments of a tomb cover found in the ruins of the monastery of the Archangels near Prizen once presented the carved kneeling figure of a king, most likely the effigy of Stefan Dušan (d. 1352). In the small royal funerary chapel at Tŭrnovo, the late-fourteenth-century Bulgarian ruler Ivan Alexander was commemorated in gisant on the lid of his sarcophagus (Figure 10.3). Today, only the cushioned feet clad in boots displaying the royal emblem—the double-headed eagle—remain.[21]

While these unusual examples may attest to Western European influence on tomb monuments,[22] we might argue that it was not altogether taboo to have oneself commemorated in a way that was more often seen on saints' sarcophagi.[23] In post-Byzantine Russia, carved wooden gisants encased in gold became common for tomb shrines of saints and important monastic figures.[24] Though a surfeit of late examples survive from this part of the world, there is reason to suggest that this was a Byzantine tradition, as well. The only surviving example with direct ties to Byzantium is Saint Clement's wooden

Figure 10.3 Gisant of Ivan Alexander (fragment), originally from Tŭrnovo. Sofia, Archaeological Institute (photo: Slobodan Ćurčić).

gisant at his church in Ohrid, which most likely predates the completion of the church ca. 1300.[25] Certainly it was not the only one of its kind.

Embroidered funerary palls, which were laid over sarcophagi, could include portraits of the deceased. Due to the fragility of these textiles, surviving examples tend to be late. However, because they are similar in both typology and medium to mummy shrouds of Late Antiquity, it is possible to imagine a long tradition. Indeed, it may be that rich textiles embroidered with inscriptions or images were an important adornment of tombs throughout the Byzantine period.

Most extant examples are post-Byzantine. Palls with portraits of the deceased from Russia depict monks and members of the clergy who had been elevated to the status of saints. An example from Putna Monastery in Romania, however, attests to the use of palls for non-saints. The *epitaphios*, or grave cover, of Maria of Mangop dates from 1476 and bears a full-length portrait in needlework of the deceased princess in her royal regalia, eyes closed and hands crossed, as if lying dead in her tomb (Figure 10.4).[26] Maria was a Palaiologan princess, wedded to Stephen the Great in 1472, and she may have brought this tradition of funerary portraiture from the capital.[27] The tomb cover of Simeon Moliva (1609) from the monastery of Sucevitza is quite similar, showing the crowned figure with his eyes closed in death, hands folded over his chest.[28] These funerary portraits share a typological relationship with altar palls depicting the dead Christ.

While the similarities between the funerary palls of Maria Mangop and Prince Simeon Moliva and altar palls of Christ are apparent, the differences are even more so. In the all of the examples given here, the portrait is easily identifiable as a contemporary personage. Manuscript illuminations also maintain clear distinctions between the identifiable features and costumes of the living and the historicized and standardized representations of holy people. Attitudes of prayer, contemporary clothing, and the attention to facial details mark them as separate and preserve the identity of the ones portrayed to their relevant societies.

In Late Antiquity the differences between portrait panels and icons were not always clear. Compare the panel portrait of a haloed Apa Abraham (ca. 600), who was bishop of Hermonthis but not a saint, to the icon dating to the same period of a non-haloed "Brother Mark," identified by inscription as the Evangelist (Figures 10.5–10.6).[29] It is tempting to argue that this lack of distinction did not continue past the early eighth century. The remarkable similarities between portrait panels and icons of saints during the early period can be attributed to the course of their developments. Icons and portraits existed within the same artistic milieu and often with the same intention of presenting the portrayed as an ideal, spiritual type, a visualization of personal piety.

Figure 10.4 Maria of Mangop, funerary textile Epitaphios with Maria of Mangop. Gold thread and silk, ca. 1476. Putna, Muzcal Monastirii (photo and copyright: Putna Monastery. Used with permission).

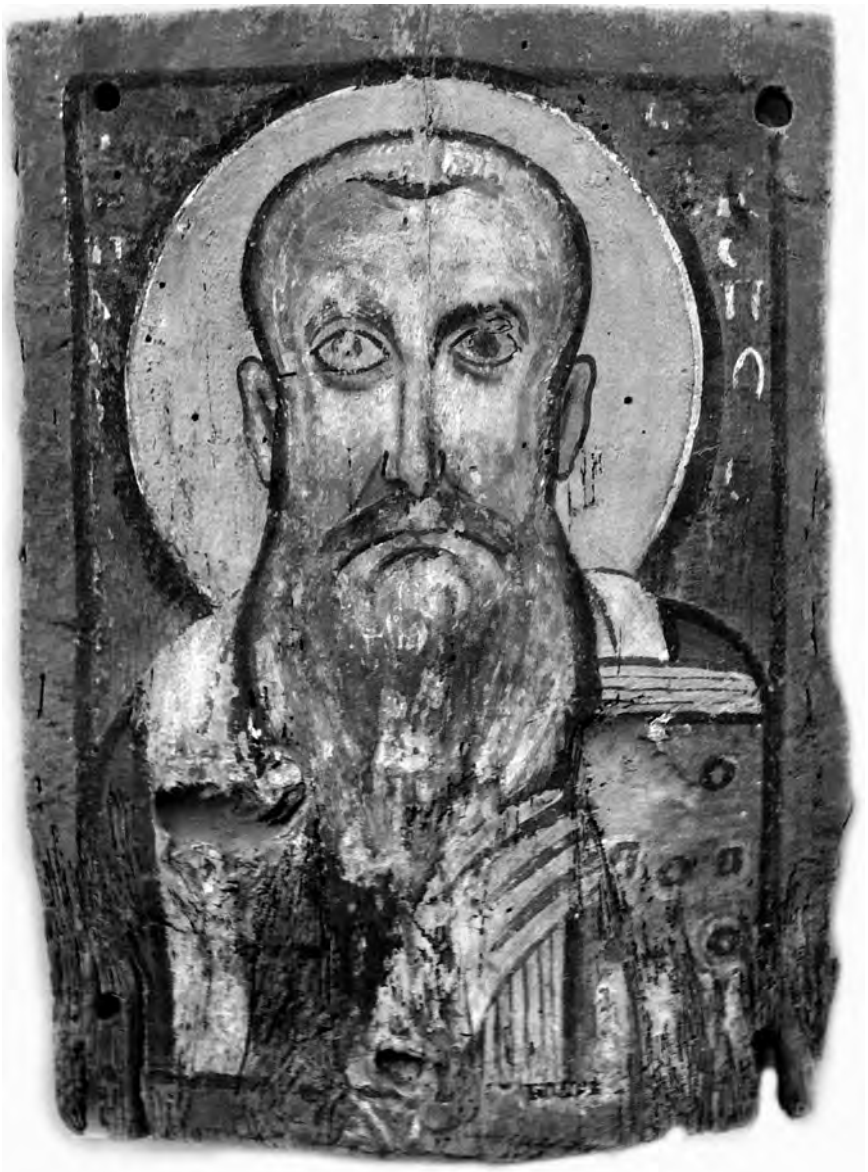


Figure 10.5 Icon of Apa Abraham. Berlin, Staatliche Museen (photo: Wikimedia Commons, Andreas Praefcke).

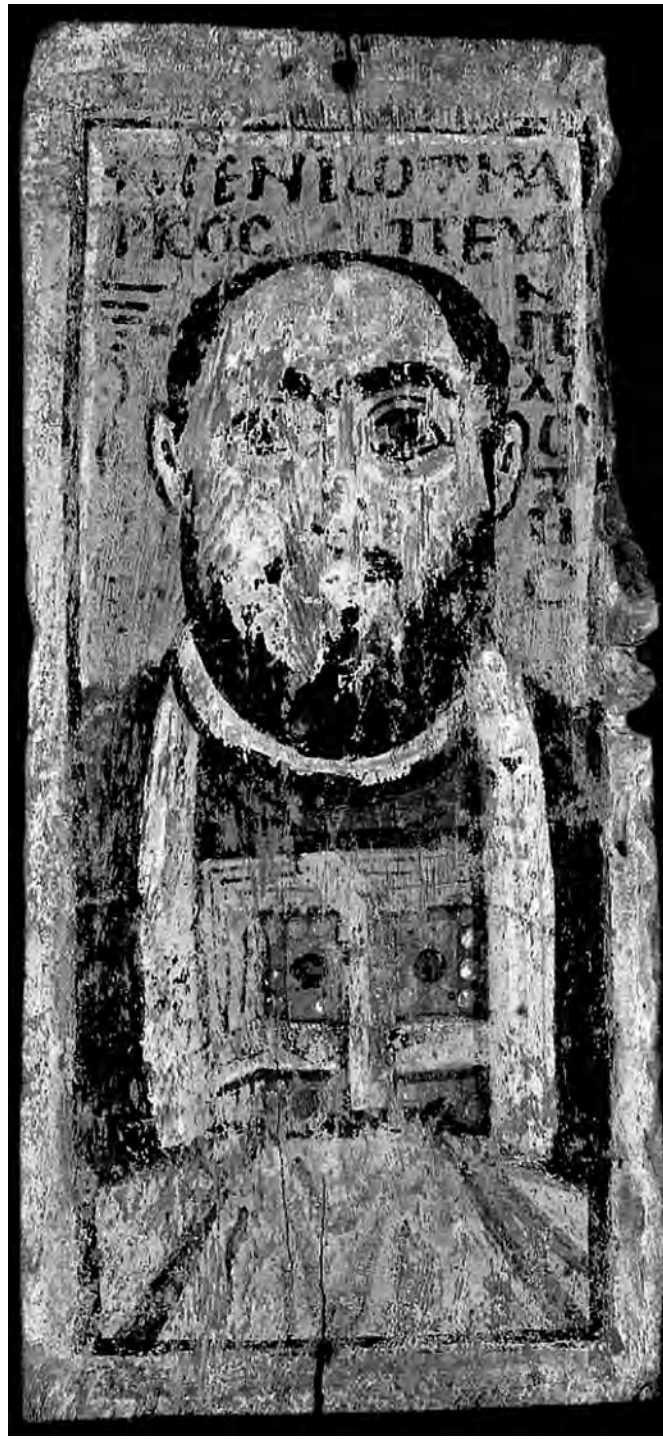


Figure 10.6 Icon of Mark the Evangelist (photo with permission of Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Cabinet des Médailles).

After Iconoclasm, the practice of funerary portraiture seems to decline, allowed only for those of high status, and the appearance of funerary portraiture changes, distinguishing sacred icons from secular portraits. Nevertheless, we can immediately recognize that the endeavor to have oneself presented as worthy of admission among the heavenly hierarchies persisted in Byzantine consciousness. This, I argue, was the continuing motivation for funerary portrait panels. The fact that portraits were limited supports the idea of conceptual parallels with icons. Isaak's concern about his tomb monument and its reception reveals as much. Not simply an expression of spiritual aspiration, funerary portraits reveal the expectation to occupy a higher level of heavenly existence.

These portraits, like those of Antiquity, were also perceived as means of communication with the deceased, a medium that facilitated the presence of the deceased. A poem by Theodore Prodromos written for Isaak Komnenos provides evidence of this psychological phenomenon. Thought to have been an inscription on a portrait of his (still living) brother John II, the poem is written as if spoken by Isaak, expressing his brotherly love and fidelity, and speaking about his ever-present desire to see his brother, thwarted by the distance between them:

> And I continually strain to see you always. But this being impossible for mortal nature, divided by time and space and the fluctuating affairs of fortune, I portray and depict you by the artist's hand, you whom I have engraved at the center of my heart, in order that I may always see you and be with you, and refresh and divert my desire, staring at the copy as if it were the original. May I receive as much Grace from God as I, O emperor, nurture affection for you.[30]

To be sure, the poem itself does not provide enough evidence to support the supposition that the poem was inscribed on a panel portrait. Yet it is likely to have been a personal possession of Isaak, as the intimate tone of the lines and the reason for its commission suggest. It may have been the type of personal portrait that is depicted on folio 143v of the fourteenth-century Venice Alexander Romance (Hellenic Institute Codex Gr. 5*)*, showing Alexander commissioning a portrait to send to Queen Kandake (Figure 10.7). The panel is shown prominently in the top register in the context of its creation and again in the second register upon its receipt by the queen.[31] Isaak's poem conveys a sense that continual devotion to the image will gain him closeness to the one depicted, something better conceptualized by the medium of the painted panel. The use of the vocative addresses John through his portrait and alludes to the mediating ability of the image: "that I may always see you and be with you." The last line of the epigram suggests that that the emperor's will and God's will are somehow linked, or perhaps that honor paid to the emperor reaps God's blessings. He "stares at the copy as if it were the original," an interaction with the image that says much about the perception of the imperial icon: honor paid to his image is honor paid to the emperor, and honoring the emperor honors God.

If such a portrait was ever placed on an imperial tomb, it might be further suggested that, like the spatial and temporal distance of earthly separation, the portrait was capable of bridging the transcendent separation of death to negotiate communication with the deceased. We may be reminded of the behavior displayed by the Russian traveler Stephen of Novgorod and others to the Church of the Holy Apostles where they had venerated the tomb of

Figure 10.7 Alexander commissioning a portrait to send to Queen Kandake. Alexander Romance, fol. 143v (photo: Copyright Istituto Ellenico di Venezia).

the sainted Constantine: "There are many other imperial tombs there, and although [these emperors] are not saints, we sinners kissed [them]."[32]

In conclusion, the evidence at hand supports the contention that panel portraits of non-sainted individuals continued to be used in funerary contexts after the Iconoclastic period. The question remains, then, if the use of funerary portraits actually conflicted with the Orthodox definition of icons. The surviving examples of funerary portraiture in wall paintings and funerary palls attest to a persistent need to commemorate certain people in this fashion, despite any typological similarities with icons or the tomb monuments of saints. While the posed question regarding the use of funerary portrait-icons during the Middle and Late Byzantine periods cannot be answered with precision, the conceptual outlines of the central issue are clearly apparent.

Notes

1 Trans. N. Ševčenko, "Kosmosoteira: Typikon of the Sebastokrator Isaac Komnenos for the Monastery of the Mother of God Kosmosoteira near Bera," in *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents*, 5 vols, ed. J. Thomas and A. Constantinides-Hero (Washington, D.C., 2000), 3: 782–858, on 838. All references to the typikon are from this edition.

2 P. Underwood, *The Kariye Djami*, 4 vols (New York, 1966–1975), 1: 11–13, 45–8; 2: 36; idem, "The Deesis Mosaic in the Kahrie Cami at Istanbul," *Late Classical and Medieval Studies in Honor of Matthias Friend Jr.*, ed. K. Weitzmann (Princeton, NJ, 1955), 254–60, esp. 258.

3 Group portraits of families occur in mural funerary portraits. In the parekklesion of the Chora, Tomb E of Irene Raoulaina Palaiologina portrays the deceased in the lunette of the arcosolium along with five additional figures, although not all of these may have been buried in the same tomb or accommodated under the floor in front of the niche. Tomb C features a man and his wife flanked by another woman and a nun; their identities remain unknown; Underwood, *Kariye Djami*, 1: 272–6, 281–8; 2: 534–5, 540–542.

4 H. Belting, *Das Illuminierte Buch in der spätbyzantinischen Gesellschaft* (Heidelberg, 1970), 79; T. Papamastorakes, "Epitymbies Parastaseis kata tē Mesē kai Ysterē Byzantinē Periodo," *DChAE* 19 (1996–1997): 285–304, esp. 299–300.

5 The original context appears to be unknown, but follows funerary iconography. Papamastorakes "Epitymbies Parastaseis," esp. 300; V. J. Djurić, *Icônes de Yougoslavie* (Belgrade, 1961), 111, cat. no. 46, pl. 65, described as the Virgin Eleousa with a donor.

6 Underwood, *Kariye Djami*, 1: 292–5; 3: 549.

7 For the proposal that these icons were associated with tombs, see A. Weyl Carr, "Cypriot Funerary Icons: Questions of Convergence in a Complex Land," in *Medieval Paradigms: Essays in Honor of Jeremy DuQuesney Adams*, ed. S. Hayes-Healy (New York, 2005), 153–74. A comparative study of portraits of the deceased with arms crossed is presented by A. Semoglou, "Contribution à l'étude du portrait funeraire dans le monde byzantin (14e–16e siècle)," *Zograf* 24 (1995):

4–11. See also A. Papageorgiou, *Icons of Cyprus* (Nicosia, 1992), 60–64, figs. 39–41; D. Talbot Rice, *Icons of Cyprus* (London, 1937), 100.

8 Papageorgiou, *Icons of Cyprus*, 62.

9 Carr, "Cypriot Funerary Icons," 154–7.

10 E. Miller, *Manuelis Philae Carmina* (Paris, 1857), 2: 162–3: Εἰσ εἰκόνα τοῦ σεβαστοκράτορος ἐκείνου καὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ. See S. T. Brooks, "Poetry and Female Patronage in Late Byzantine Tomb Decoration: Two Epigrams by Manuel Philes," *DOP* 60 (2006): 223–48, who identifies the patron and the successive changes to the funerary portrait.

11 See Brooks, "Poetry and Female Patronage," 243–4, about the unknown practice of adorning portraiture with metal.

12 Brooks, "Poetry and Female Patronage," 230.

13 Brooks, "Poetry and Female Patronage," 241, 246. Michael was buried in the same tomb as Theodora's husband, as is revealed in additional epigrams composed for Theodora by Philes.

14 Brooks, "Poetry and Female Patronage," 245, believes there must have been at least a small, unobtrusive image of a sacred person in the composition in order to complete the purpose of the portrait as an image of a supplicant. While this is certainly possible, it may be fruitful to consider other icons of saints and holy persons placed nearby as the sacred images with which the panels can be seen to interact.

15 Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Lincoln College gr. 35. Typikon trans. A.-M. Talbot, "Bebaia Elpis: Typikon of Theodora Synadene for the Convent of the Mother of God Bebaia Elpis in Constantinople," *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents*, 4: 1512–78. For a discussion of the portraits and the history of the manuscript, see I. Spatharkis, *The Portrait in Byzantine Illuminated Manuscripts* (Leiden, 1976), 190–207, figs. 143–54. Theodora and her daughter are represented (fol. 11r) offering a model of the church to the Virgin, depicted on the opposite folio (10v). A collective portrait of the nuns of the convent is also featured in the manuscript (12r).

16 Spatharakis, *The Portrait*, fig. 143.

17 A notable exception is Papamastorakis, "Epitymbies Parastaseis," who proposes panel icons as a prominent medium of funerary portraiture in Byzantium.

18 A. Grabar, *Christian Iconography, a Study of Its Origins* (Princeton, NJ, 1968), 86; H. Belting, *Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image before the Era of Art*, trans. E. Jephcott (Chicago, 1994), 98.

19 R. Jordan, trans., "Pantokrator: Typikon of the Emperor John II Komnenos for the Monastery of Christ Pantokrator in Constantinople," *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents*, 2: 715–81.

20 H. Maguire, "The Heavenly Court," in *Byzantine Court Culture from 829–1204*, ed. H. Maguire (Washington, D.C., 1997), 247–58, with similar sources comparing the Byzantine court to the heavenly court and of the emperor to angels, Christ, and even God Himself.

21 A. Grabar, *Sculptures Byzantines du Moyen Age vol. II (XI^e–XIV^e siècles)* (Paris, 1976), 157, cat. nos. 171, 170.

22 S. Ćurčić, "Medieval Royal Tombs in the Balkans: An Aspect of the 'East or West' Question," *GOTR* 29 (1984): 175–94, esp. 179–80.

23 According to the Miracles of Saint Demetrios, inside the ciborium was a couch-like bench made of silver (κραββάτιον εξ ἀργύρου), which bore a relief of the saint (ἐντετύπωνται το θεοειδὲς πρόσωπον); see J. C. Skedros, *Saint Demetrios of Thessaloniki: Civic Patron and Divine Protector 4th–7th Centuries CE* (Harrisburg, PA, 1999), 89, n. 16. See also A. Grabar, "Le thème du "gisant" dans l'art Byzantine," *CahArch* 29 (1980–1981): 143–56.

24 See the reliquaries with carved icons in A. Lidov, ed., *Christian Relics in the Moscow Kremlin* (Moscow, 2000), cat. nos. 34, 35, and the carved icon for the shrine of Saint Anthony the Roman in R. Grierson, ed., *Gates of Mystery: The Art of Holy Russia* (Fort Worth, 1993), cat. no. 42.

25 Grabar, *Sculptures Byzantines*, 157, cat. no. 169.

26 H. C. Evans, ed., *Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261–1557)* (New Haven and New York, 2004), 59–60, cat. no. 29, with bibliography. See also E. Diez, "Moldavian Portrait Textiles," *ArtB* 4 (1928): 377–85 and fig. 1, who suggests, on p. 381, the possibility that embroidered portrait textiles covered the tombs of later Byzantine emperors and that the Moldavian textiles should be seen as a Byzantine tradition.

27 Three related textiles date to the early and mid seventeenth century, with standing portraits of living figures: Prince Jeremiah Molvila at Sucevitza Monastery, the Despot Basilios Lupu, and that of his wife, Princess Tudosca Lupu from the Metropolitan Church at Jassy. Diez, "Moldavian Portrait Textiles," discusses these textiles as well (figs. 2–4). Although markedly different in that they show the portrayed as if living—in the case of Jeremiah, even quite robust and vigorous—these textiles, too, seem to have functioned as grave covers.

28 See P. Johnstone, *Byzantine Tradition in Church Embroidery* (London, 1967), 113, fig. 82.

29 Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, 93, makes this comparison, arguing that this period of Christian portraiture "offers no reliable guide" when one wants to distinguish a memorial portrait of a regular person and an icon of a saint.

30 P. Magdalino and R. Nelson, "The Emperor in Byzantine Art of the Twelfth Century," *ByzF* 8 (1982): 123–84, esp. 130–31.

31 N. S. Trahoulia, *The Greek Alexander Romance, Venice Hellenic Institute Codex Gr. 5* (Athens, 1997), esp. 336.

32 As cited by G. P. Majeska, *Russian Travelers to Constantinople in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* (Washington, D.C., 1984), 42.

11

Man or Metaphor?
Manuel Panselinos and the Protaton Frescoes

Matthew J. Milliner

Of all Late Byzantine painters, Manuel Panselinos is both one of the most celebrated and one of the most elusive. His reputation has grown thanks to the continuing oral tradition of Mount Athos, where he is credited with painting the impressive frescoes that decorate the Protaton church in Karyes. In the absence of texts, however, modern-day art historians are divided on how to address this vibrant oral tradition.[1] In this chapter I shall attempt to forge a middle ground between outright acceptance and outright rejection of the oral tradition. To do so, I shall explore the historical and art historical context of Panselinos's supposed masterwork at the Protaton, investigate the documents that attest to the painter's name, and conclude by offering a metaphorical interpretation of the name Manuel Panselinos. My aim is to argue that the oral tradition of this legendary artist, properly understood, is indeed worthwhile for both monks and scholars alike.

The Protaton and its Frescoes

Thanks to the vindication of Hesychast doctrine and new influxes of artistic patronage, the Late Byzantine age was a golden one for Mount Athos. Palaiologan Athos found a unique niche among competing Mediterranean powers, attracting those seeking education, security, and the handsome pensions that accompanied donations. Emperor Andronikos II (1282–1328) catalyzed this resurgence by ceding the imperial prerogative of selecting the Athonite *protos*, or head abbot, to the patriarch.[2] During this era seven major monasteries were founded or restored; new monasteries included Gregoriou,

Dionysiou, Pantokrator, Simonopetra, and Hilandar. All rose quickly in the monastic hierarchy of Athos and held their places in the centuries to come.[3]

The most noteworthy of these new commissions was a renovation of the principal Athonite church, the Protaton in Karyes.[4] While the Protaton's original structure dates to the ninth century, by the late thirteenth century the building had sustained damage. While this was probably due to an earthquake or fire, a more interesting, if unprovable, tale holds that the troops of emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos burned the Protaton because Athonite monks refused to unite with the Roman church.[5] Whatever the reason, the Protaton needed repairs, and the imperial coffers of Michael's Orthodox successor, Andronikos II, provided them. In sum, near the turn of the fourteenth century several currents converged on the central Athonite church: an emerging Athonite independence, an assertion of Orthodox identity against the Latins, and an influx of imperial patronage.

The Protaton was rebuilt on the inscribed-cross plan while retaining its timber-roofed basilican shape (Figure 11.1). These necessary modifications meant that the building would enjoy less light than it did in earlier phases, but the church was to receive a different kind of light, for the Protaton interior was painted by an artist with an unusual level of skill, who has been identified as the "Greek Giotto," Manuel Panselinos. The stylistic similarities between the Protaton frescoes and those of St. Clement's Church in Ohrid (1294–1295) and the Chapel of St. Euthymios (1302–1303) in Thessalonike led Thalia Gouma-Peterson to argue convincingly that the Protaton frescoes were completed between 1295 and 1302. Catalan raids between 1305 and 1309 significantly disturbed the Holy Mountain, providing a *terminus ante quem* for the program.[6]

David Winfield has remarked that a Byzantine painter's greatest challenge was "at the beginning, when he had to fit a particular subject into the space available for it."[7] This was a challenge that the painter(s) of the Protaton ably met. The interior displays a treasury of remarkable innovations well suited to the unique shape of the space. Still, departures from traditional iconography are in accord with the fundamentals of Byzantine sanctuary decoration. The frescoes have been examined in detail and have elicited effusive admiration.[8] For example, the neo-Byzantine artist Photis Kontoglou (1895–1965) insisted that Panselinos's Protaton is "like a sacred ark of art."[9] For Constantine Cavarnos the Protaton figures were more real than the people one encounters in everyday life.[10] Andreas Xyngopoulos stated that Panselinos's paintings achieved a "spiritual realism"[11] that combined the best of the Classical and Byzantine traditions (Figures 11.2–11.3). Myratali Acheimastou-Potamianou called the Protaton "the choicest fruit of spiritual and liturgical life on Mt. Athos in the tradition of Hesychasm."[12] The monks of Athos themselves recently referred to the walls of the Protaton as the "distillation of the internal monastic and liturgical life of the Holy

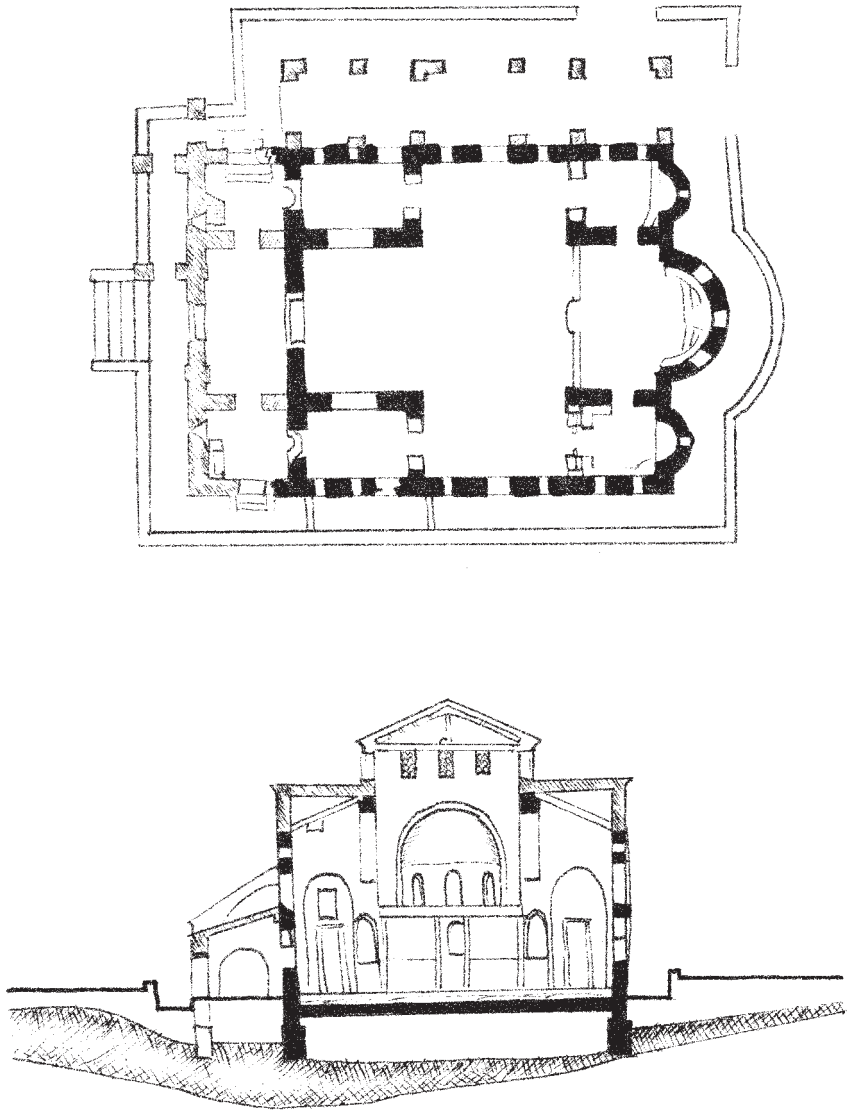


Figure 11.1 Karyes, Mt. Athos. Protaton Church, plan (drawing: author, after D. Amponis).

Figure 11.2 Protaton Church, fresco of the Presentation of the Virgin, with scaffolding (photo: author).

Mountain."[13] The Protaton frescoes are indeed a visual *Summa* of Athonite monasticism, a customized compendium of martyrs, saints, feasts, and Biblical scenes fused in permanent assembly.

In this chapter, my chief concern is who painted the much-praised frescoes. There have been numerous attempts to link the Protaton frescoes to the "Macedonian School" of Late Byzantine painting.[14] Considering this label's loaded history, one can sympathize with Anthony Bryer's request: "Please let us not have [another] School of Byzantine art, but think instead of painters and patrons."[15] But, in the case of the Protaton, to move from a problematized "school" to individual painters is to jump from the frying pan into the fire. However many artists may have worked on the program,[16] there is no trace of what we would call a signature. The roughly contemporary frescoes at the Church of St. Clement in Ohrid have that coveted art historical trio: an inscribed date, donor, and the names of the artists,[17] but this is a rarity. Only 15 percent of preserved Late Byzantine church inscriptions contain any reference to artists, who at the time were no more significant than craftsman.[18] When it comes to the artist(s) of the Protaton frescoes, we are faced with the art historical equivalent of *pas de documents, pas d'histoire*.

Figure 11.3 Protaton Church, fresco of saints, with scaffolding (photo: author).

The History of a Name

The first use of the word "Panselinos" as an artist's name appears in a fragmentary text that served as a source for Dionysios of Fourna's Painter's Manual.[19] Because the text mentions the name of the artist Frangos Katelanos, who worked in the second half of the sixteenth century, the source has been dated by Xyngopoulos to the beginning of the seventeenth century.[20] The text contains religious and technical instruction for young painters. The anonymous author suggests that if an aspiring iconographer cannot find a teacher, he should "go to the old churches where Panselinos made paintings" in order to learn.[21] The author mentions the name "Panselinos" in passing, as if his readers' knowledge of the figure could be presumed. No other details about Panselinos are provided.

Dionysios' Painter's Manual both includes this fragmentary source and elaborates upon it. The manual was written during Dionysios' second period on Mount Athos, ca. 1729–1732, under agitated conditions that have recently been fruitfully explored.[22] Dionysios had internalized his source's instruction, and he passes it onto the next generation: "I myself was afraid of being condemned as slothful, and I urged myself to increase the slight talent that the Lord had given me … studying hard to copy as far as I was able, the master of Thessalonike, Manuel Panselinos, who is compared to the brilliance of the moon."[23] The placement of the passage is telling. After a first preface dedicated to the Virgin "on whom the sun's rays fall,"[24] there is another preface mentioning Panselinos, the moon. This is natural enough, as Panselinos (πανσέληνος) means "full moon." The text continues:

> This painter having worked on the Holy Mountain of Athos, painting holy icons and beautiful churches, shone in his profession of painting so that his brilliance exceeded that of the moon, and he obscured with his miraculous art all painters, both ancient and modern, as is shown most clearly by the walls and panels that were painted with images by him, and anyone who participates to some extent in painting will understand this very clearly when he looks at them and examines them carefully.[25]

In the course of a century the written sources have gone from the name Panselinos to the full name Manuel Panselinos, adding that he lived in Thessalonike, painted churches and panels on Mt. Athos, and exhibited celestial artistic talent.

The accumulation of data about Panselinos soon increased.[26] A 1744 chronicle by the Russian traveler V. G. Barskii provides specific information on the Athonite churches painted by Panselinos.[27] Only with Barskii do we learn that Panselinos painted the Protaton, in addition to other Athonite katholika at the monasteries of Panteleimon and Chilandar. An Illirico-Serbian painter named Zefarović, also in the second quarter of the eighteenth

century, confirms that Panselinos painted the Protaton. Indeed, according to Tsigaridas, "From at least the 17th century onwards, the monks of Athos considered any fresco that resembled the decoration of the Protaton to be the work of Manuel Panselinos."[28] This growing tradition was transfused into Western scholarship in the nineteenth century when the French scholar Adolphe Napoleon Didron (1806–1867) obtained Dionysios' Painter's Manual and translated it into French.[29] Didron wasted no time in declaring Manuel Panselinos to be "le Raphaél ou plutót le Giotto de l'école byzantine."[30] Later in the nineteenth century, the works attributed or assigned to Panselinos expanded. Another Russian traveler to Mount Athos, Poryphyrios Uspensky, attributed the outer narthex of the Vatopaidi katholikon to Panselinos.[31] Uspensky even provided us with a portrait of Panselinos, making a sketch of the artist based on a fragment of painting, since vanished, that he saw in the narthex of the Protaton.[32] Uspensky also cited a dubious inscription, now lost, naming Panselinos.[33]

These controversies were only the beginning. The prolific forger Constantine Simonides (1820–1867) claimed to have discovered old *hermeneia* that dated Manuel Panselinos to the twelfth century.[34] He also claimed to have found a Panselinos in the sixth, eleventh, and sixteenth centuries, bringing the total number of artists named Panselinos to four.[35] Simonides even extended the painter's name to Ἐμμανουὴλ Πανήλιον τόν Πανσέληνον, adding another celestial body, the sun, to his name. Soon came a counterstrike. An article by Manuel Gedeon (1851–1943) published in 1876 repudiated Simonides and attempted to secure one identity for the artist, naming Manuel Panselinos as the teacher of the sixteenth-century Cretan artist Theophanes.[36] Two eighteenth-century manuscripts at the library of Great Lavra presumably endorse this tradition.[37] In addition, Gedeon added the Xenophontos monastery katholikon to Panselinos's list of accomplishments, while also crediting him with the invention of photography![38]

Further confirmation of the sixteenth-century Panselinos seemed to appear when a codex was discovered on the island of Lesbos. The author of the codex referred to "my son Panselinos" born in 1559, and another son Benjamin born in 1570.[39] This sixteenth-century Panselinos was even said to have traveled to Italy where he secured Renaissance prints.[40] Gabriel Millet represented this tradition when he dated Panselinos to around 1540.[41] Finally, Spyridon Lampros raised serious doubts about the name Manuel Panselinos,[42] and he suggested the Protaton frescoes were Palaiologan.[43] Millet appears to have come around to the Palaiologan dating of the Protaton later in his career.[44] Further scholarship in the twentieth century has vindicated Lampros by endorsing the Palaiologan date of the Protaton frescoes. By 1957, Talbot Rice expressed a conclusion about the Protaton that was becoming difficult to avoid: "It is the character of the work that is fundamentally important, not the

name of its painter. But in that case, why associate them with a name when there is little or no evidence to support the authorship?"[45]

The *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit*, the definitive prosopographical resource for the Late Byzantine period, confirms Rice's conclusion. Whereas known Byzantine painter names such as Michael Astrapas and George Kallierges are well attested in the Late Byzantine period, the name Panselinos is not.[46] The *Lexikon*, accordingly, suggests the name Manuel Panselinos is best understood as a mere cipher (*chiffre*) for the unknown painter of the Protaton.[47] In an article published in 1999, Maria Vassilaki expanded this suggestion by conjecturing that Dionysios of Fourna, hoping his contemporaries would imitate the style of the Protaton, invented the name Manuel Panselinos. She suggests this might have been because the Cretan style had a name associated with it—Theophanes. If the Protaton style were to gain followers, it also needed a name in order to compete.[48]

Vassilaki's research emphasizes our inevitable ignorance regarding the oral tradition surrounding Panselinos, and further presses Byzantine art historians to grapple with textual reality. To summarize this complex tradition: written evidence that a man named Manuel Panselinos painted the Protaton frescoes postdates Dionyisos of Fourna, who never mentions the Protaton. The Panselinos-Protaton connection first emerges from Barskii and Zefarović near the middle of the eighteenth century, nearly four and a half centuries after the completion of the frescoes.

Still, scholarly skepticism regarding a Panselinos-painted Protaton is by no means universal. The recent exhibition catalogue on Manuel Panselinos repudiates Vassilaki's assertions and reifies the supposed historicity of Panselinos. Such confidence is upheld by an appeal to oral tradition, which presumably fills the centuries-long gap. "In a monastic republic that has existed for over a thousand years," announces Tsigaridas, "the oral tradition should not be lightly dismissed, as other cases have shown."[49] On this basis, Tsigaridas assigns not only the Protaton, but also a fresco fragment from the Great Lavra, a portion of the Chapel of St. Euthymios, some frescoes in the narthex of Vatopaidi, and four Athonite icons to Panselinos and his atelier.[50] Tsigaridas buttresses his case for Panselinos's existence by calling seven art historians to the stand: "Soteriou, Xyngopoulos, Kalorkyris, Chatzidakis, Mouriki, Kalomirakis, and Djurić largely agreed that Panselinos flourished in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century."[51]

Panselinos was therefore the finest representative of the Thessalonian school, "and also one of the greatest painters of all time."[52] The most recent article on the Protaton that I am aware of is equally insistent.[53] It provides a chemical analysis of the frescoes that is helpful in analyzing technique, but the paper begins by assuming Manuel Panselinos's existence as fact. The tradition that an artist named Manuel Panselinos painted the Protaton is therefore as strong at the start of the twenty-first century as it was at the beginning of the eighteenth.

Manuel Panselinos as Metaphor

Current art historical scholarship exhibits a standoff between those who assert and those who deny the "real Panselinos." The former appeal to oral tradition, the latter to the written record. A more flexible interpretation of the Panselinos tradition, however, offers a possible way forward; even a "solution" that Paul Hetherington suggests still awaits the Panselinos controversy.[54] Vassilaki has already moved in this direction. She proposes that we read the Panselinos tradition as we would the tales told by Pliny about Apelles, or by Vasari about Giotto. So long as we recall the ideologies that generated them, we can enjoy these charming stories apart from their historical veracity.[55] But a deeper reading of the Panselinos tradition may be possible as well. Vassilaki suggests it would be dangerous to look too deeply into why Panselinos was named as he was, but this approach may be illuminating nonetheless.

Whether the name "full moon" (Πανσέληνος) reflects a historical figure or not, the name serves as a metaphor for the perfect painter who reflects the sunlight of Christ or the Virgin. A possible objection to this idea is that Byzantine thinkers would not have been aware that the moon reflected the sun. The Anexagoran insight that the moon reflected the sun dates to the sixth century BCE, however, and recorded Byzantine instances of this view are attested before and into the Palaiologan era. For example, after a lunar eclipse in 1239, George Akropolites wrote that a student of Nikephoros Blymmedes attempted to convince the Nicene court that the phenomenon was due to the moon falling between the earth and the sun.[56] The battle between astrology and astronomy continued until the end of the Byzantine Empire, but more natural explanations, such as those of Theodore Meliteniotes, had strong representation, from which the Athonite peninsula would not have been completely immune.[57]

As has been shown, the name's placement in the Painter's Manual, right after the description of the "sun" of the Virgin, invites this connection. And though it may be pressing this interpretation, it can be suggested that "Manuel," an abbreviation of "Immanuel"—God with us—refers to the presence of God made real through proper reflection of the prototype. The name "Manuel Panselinos," so conceived, harmonizes with classic Byzantine iconophile opinion as to what the act of painting *should* involve. In the ninth century, Theodore of Studios used the analogy of the seal to vindicate the legitimacy of icons. Just as a seal imparts its impression while retaining the prototype, so an icon reflects the prototype without becoming it.[58]

The analogy of the full moon, like the analogy of the seal, wonderfully encapsulates both the presence and absence of images in Byzantine iconophile thought. Perhaps the name's theological resonance explains the persistence of the Panselinos tradition to this day. One is led to quote Emile Mâle, who justified apocryphal accretions to canonical texts by suggesting that "Under

the trappings of legend the people's insight almost always divined the truly sublime."[59]

The name Manuel Panselinos as a metaphor for the ideal painter captures Late Byzantine thought patterns quite well, as punning on names and occupations was a very Byzantine thing to do. For example, *Mazaris' Journey to Hades* (1414/1415), patterned after Lucian, provides several examples of living persons whose names are playfully punned upon, puns which sometimes conceal a person's profession.[60] Furthermore, such a reading of the name Panselinos is compatible with the few artists' signatures from the Late Byzantine era that survive, inscriptions that point away from the humble artists toward the prototypes they depict. One inscription from the Patriarchal monastery in Peć, dated 1345, reads "θ(εο)ῦ το δῶρον ἐκ χειρὸς Ἰωάν(νου)," "God's is the gift, by the hand of Ioannes."[61] Another reads, "O inconceivable Divinity, save me the perceptible, Ioannikios the monk-priest and painter" (Great Prespa, 1409/1410).[62] The low status of artists in Byzantine society is further exemplified by signatures such as "Alexios, the sinner, and so-called painter" (Rhodes, 1434/1435); or "Srdj the sinful" (Dečani, 1348/1350).[63] The name "Manuel Panselinos," understood to signify not artistic light itself, but reflection of the light of the prototypes, encapsulates this Palaiologan understanding of artistic practice—certainly much more than Didron's notion of Panselinos as the "Greek Giotto." Dionysios of Fourna was clearly trying to exalt Panselinos as an artist, but he himself may have been influenced by the "art" paradigm so foreign to Byzantine culture. Perhaps he was even attempting to create in Panselinos a "Greek Leonardo," in response to the translation into Greek in 1724 of the *Trattato della pittura de Leonardo da Vinci*.[64]

An allegorical reading of the name Manuel Panselinos has another advantage. It loosens the grip that "art" continues to have on Byzantine images. Consider Xyngopoulos's statement that, due to the binding strictures of Byzantine iconography, "Panselinos was not always free in his artistic creation."[65] Such language is driven by the notion of the avant-garde artist; whereas Byzantine art—properly understood—is driven by prototypes, which are much more real and more important than the artists themselves. Conversely, the Panselinos-as-genius tradition exalts the artist and dims the prototypes, showing art history to have once again, in the words of Hans Belting, "simply declared everything to be art in order to bring everything within its domain."[66]

Perhaps the insistence that Manuel Panselinos *must* have been an artist of genius can be compared to the imposing iron and concrete superstructure that is needed to uphold the sinking structure of the Protaton today. The hideous scaffolding is necessary to forestall the building's accelerated deterioration that resulted from excessive use of reinforced concrete in restoration work of

the 1950s (Figures 11.2–11.4). In a similar way, the Manuel Panselinos tradition has infiltrated Byzantine art history with Renaissance ideals (yet again), a dependence that has since required art historians to erect the awkward scaffolding of Panselinos's historicity, despite strong evidence to the contrary.

Still, the oral and written tradition that a man named Panselinos painted the Protaton need not be completely discarded. Lifting "Manuel Panselinos" as the ideal of Byzantine—and now Orthodox—painting, efficiently summarizes the complexity of Byzantine aesthetics: reflection, not replication, of the prototype is what counts. What is more, *every* artist in the Orthodox tradition can aspire to be a "Panselinos," that is, to be a full moon accurately reflecting the light of the heavenly prototypes. When the name is understood in this way, one thing is certain: It was a "Manual Panselinos" who painted the Protaton frescoes after all.

Figure 11.4 Protaton Church, exterior view from the east, showing scaffolding and protective cover in 2006 (photo: author).

Notes

1 For recent responses to the oral tradition, see E. N. Tsigaridas, "Manuel Panselinos: The Finest Painter of the Palaiologan Era," *Manuel Panselinos: From the Holy Church of the Protaton* (Thessalonike, 2003), 24; and G. Kakavas, *Dionysios of Fourna: Artistic Creation and Literary Description* (Leiden, 2008), 118.

2 T. Gregory, *A History of Byzantium* (Oxford, 2005), 300.

3 N. Oikonomides, "Patronage in Palaiologan Mt. Athos," *Mount Athos and Byzantine Monasticism* (Aldershot, 1996), 100.

4 A history of the Protaton's building phases can be found in D. Amponis, "Construction History of the Holy Church of the Protaton," in *Manuel Panselinos: From the Holy Church of the Protaton* (Thessaloniki, 2003), 74. Earlier studies include P. M. Mylonas, "Les étapes successives de construction du Protaton au Mont Athos," *CahArch* 28 (1979): 143–60; and P. Mylonas, "The Successive Stages of Construction in the Athos Protaton," *Manuel Panselinos and His Age* (Athens, 1999), 15–37.

5 A. Xyngopoulos, *Manuel Panselinos* (Athens, 1956), 10.

6 T. Gouma Peterson, "The Fresco Parekklesion of St. Euthymios in Thessaloniki: Patrons, Workshops, and Style," *The Twilight of Byzantium*, ed. S. Ćurčić (Princeton, 1991), 113.

7 D. Winfield, "Middle and Later Byzantine Wall Painting Methods. A Comparative Study," *DOP* 22 (1968): 132.

8 Closer examinations of the frescoes can be found in Xyngopoulos, *Manuel Panselinos*; V. Djurić, "Les Conceptions Hagioritiques dans la Peinture du Prôtaton," *Recueil de Chilandar* 8 (1991): 64; and Tsigaridas, "Manuel Panselinos." An exploration of how Athonite theology affected the Protaton frescoes can be found in N. Teteriatnikov, "New Artistic and Spiritual Trends in the *Proskynetaria* Fresco Icons of Manuel Panselinos, the Protaton," *Manuel Panselinos and His Age* (Athens, 1999), 101–25.

9 P. Kontoglou, *Byzantine Sacred Art*, trans. C. Cavarnos (Belmont, MA, 1957), 58.

10 C. Cavarnos, *Byzantine Thought and Art* (Belmont, MA, 1968), 81–2.

11 Xyngopoulos, *Manuel Panselinos*, 18.

12 M. Acheimastou-Potamianou, *Greek Art: Byzantine Wall Paintings* (Athens, 1994), 237.

13 Representatives and Principles of the Twenty Monasteries of Mount Athos, *Manuel Panselinos: From the Holy Church of the Protaton* (Thessaloniki, 2003), 15.

14 A. Bryer, "The Rise and Fall of the Macedonian School of Byzantine Art (1910–1962)," in *Ourselves and Others: The Development of a Greek Macedonian Cultural Identity Since 1912* (Oxford, 1997), 85, has attempted to survey the history of the term, citing the year 1967 as its art historical endpoint. Prof. Ćurčić, also suspicious of the term Macedonian School, wryly points out that Bryer's termination date was far too optimistic, for the idea has persisted; see S. Ćurčić, "The Role of Late Byzantine Thessalonike in Church Architecture in the Balkans," *DOP* 57 (2003): 66.

15 Bryer, "Rise and Fall," 85. Robert Nelson, however, has pointed out that regions are nevertheless distinguishable at this stage in Byzantine art, whether or not such distinctions are freighted with cultural ideologies; see his "Tale of Two Cities: The Patronage of Early Palaeologan Art and Architecture in

Constantinople and Thessaloniki," in *Manuel Panselinos and His Age* (Athens, 1999), 23.

16 A. Xyngopoulos, *Thessalonique et la Peinture Macédonienne* (Athens, 1955), 30, identified two hands in the Protaton frescoes.

17 Acheimastou-Potamianou, *Greek Art*, 238. The date is 6803 (=1295), the donor is Progonos Sgouros, the brother in law of the king and his wife Eudokia. The artist names, Michael Astrapas and Eutychios of Thessaloniki, are—following protocol—recorded in a less conspicuous location than the donor names. There have been attempts to connect the Protaton frescoes to Michael Astrapas, such as B. Todić, "Le Protaton et la peinture Serbe des première décennies du XIV^{e} siècle," in *L'art de Thessalonique et des pays Balkaniques et les courants spirituels au XIV^{e} siècle, Recueil des Rapports du IV^{e} Colloque Serbo-Grec, Belgrade 1985* (Belgrade, 1987), 21–31. Scholars who reject the Astrapas connection are well represented by D. Mouriki, "Stylistic Trends in the Monumental Painting of Greece at the Beginning of the Fourteenth Century," *Studies in Late Byzantine Painting* (London, 1995), 11; and Tsigaridas, "Manuel Panselinos," 49–51.

18 S. Kalopissi-Verti, "Painters in Late Byzantine Society. The Evidence of Church Inscriptions," *CahArch* 42 (1994): 147.

19 P. Hetherington, trans., *The 'Painter's Manual' of Dionysius of Fourna* (Torrance, CA, 1974).

20 Xyngopoulos, *Thessalonique et la Peinture Macédonienne*, 31.

21 A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Manuel d'Iconographie Chrétienne: accompagné de sources principales inédites et publié avec préface, pour la première fois en entire d'après son texte original* (St. Petersburg, 1909), 259, paragraph 20. This source is grafted into the beginning of Dionysios's painter's manual. Hetherington, *The 'Painter's Manual'*, 4.

22 Kakavas, *Dionysios of Fourna*, 56 and 21–9. E. Moutafov, "Post-Byzantine *hermeneiai zographikes* in the Eighteenth Century and Their Dissemination in the Balkans during the Nineteenth Century," *BMGS* 30 (2006): 69–79; also idem, "Περί Μανουήλ Πανσελήνου και του τέλους της 'αληθινής τέχνης'," *Manuel Panselinos and His Age* (Athens, 1999), 55–60. Kakavas, 29, posits a possible connection between Dionysios of Fourna and emerging Greek nationalism. Moutafov, 59, shows that *hermeneia* were a response to the decorative needs of a newly prosperous Greek population, as well as a reaction to Western ideas threatening Orthodox traditions, concluding that "aesthetic or ideological crises" generated the *hermeneiai*.

23 Hetherington, *The 'Painter's Manual'*, 2. Kakavas, *Dionysios of Fourna*, 26, claims to have found a different *Hermeneia*, dating to 1738, that also mentions Panselinos.

24 Hetherington, *The 'Painter's Manual'*, 1.

25 Hetherington, *The 'Painter's Manual'*, 2.

26 Maria Vassilaki provides an essential collation of the unruly Panselinos tradition in "Υπήρξε Μανουήλ Πανσέληνος;" *Manuel Panselinos and His Age* (Athens, 1999), 41. I thank Alexandra Courcoulas and Christina Papadimitriou for assisting me with Vassilaki's Greek text.

27 V.G. Barskij, *Vtoroje poseščenie svajatoj Athonskoj gori,* (St. Petersburg, 1887), 171. Quoted in M. Vassilaki, "Υπήρξε Μανουήλ Πανσέληνος;" 41.

28 Tsigaridas, "Manuel Panselinos," 24.

29 M. Didron, *Manuel d'Iconographie Chrétienne, Greque et Latine, avec une introduction et des notes* (New York, 1963, originally published in Paris, 1845).

30 Didron, *Manuel d'Iconographie Chrétienne*, 7.

31 P. Uspenskij, *Vtoroe putešestvie po svjatoj gore Athonskoj*, II/2 (Moscow, 1880); quoted in Vassilaki, "Ὑπήρξε Μανουήλ Πανσέληνος;" 41.

32 The sketch is reproduced in Vassilaki "Ὑπήρξε Μανουήλ Πανσέληνος;" 52. Vassilaki points out the resemblance of the portrait to the Protaton paintings themselves.

33 Uspenskij, *Vtoroe putešestvie*, 272. The publication of Athonite inscriptions by Gabriel Millet reveals that by 1904, the inscription and portrait were gone. Millet asserts that the supposed Panselinos inscription was in fact a more standard iconographical scene (Moses and Aaron) from the west wall of the prothesis; see G. Millet, *Recueil des Inscriptions Chrétienne de l'Athos* (Paris, 1904), 2–3.

34 Vassilaki, "Ὑπήρξε Μανουήλ Πανσέληνος;" 44–5. The forgery is analyzed at length in the preface to Papadopoulos-Kerameus's 1909 edition of the *Hermeneia*. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Manuel d'Iconographie Chrétienne*, α – λβ.

35 Vassilaki, "Ὑπήρξε Μανουήλ Πανσέληνος;" 45.

36 M. Gedeon, "Ποικίλη Στοὰ. Ἀθωνική ἁγιογραφία. Τοιχογραφίαι Πανσελήνου," *Προία βυζαντινή ἐπιθεώρησις τῶν νεωτέρων τῆς Ἐκκλησίας, Τῶν γραμμάτων καὶ ἐπιστημῶν, ἐκδιδομένη καθ'ἑβδομάδα ἐπιστασία Μ. Γεδεών*, ἔτος Α', τεῦχος 2ον, ἀρ. 7 (Constantinople, 1876), 53–4; quoted in Vassilaki, "Ὑπήρξε Μανουήλ Πανσέληνος;" 45.

37 Tsigaridas, "Manuel Panselinos," 25.

38 Vassilaki, "Ὑπήρξε Μανουήλ Πανσέληνος;" 45.

39 The codex is discussed in the Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Manuel d'Iconographie Chrétienne*, prologue; and in Vassilaki, "Ὑπήρξε Μανουήλ Πανσέληνος;" 45–6.

40 M. Bettini, *La pittura bizantina* (Florence, 1938–1939), 43. Quoted in Xyngopoulos, *Thessalonique et la Peinture Macédonienne*, 29–30.

41 G. Millet, *Recherches sur l'iconographie de l'Évangile* (Paris, 1916), 656.

42 S. Lampros, "Ὁ Ἰησούς τοῦ Πανσελήνου μετὰ μιας χρωατολιθογραφίας," *Παρνασσός* 5 (1881): 445–52, quoted in Vassilaki, "Ὑπήρξε Μανουήλ Πανσέληνος;" 44.

43 S. Lampros, "Ἕλληνες ζωγράφοι πρὸ τῆς Ἁλώσεως," *Νέος Ελληνομνήμων* 5 (1908): 282–3, quoted in M. Vassilaki, "Ὑπήρξε Μανουήλ Πανσέληνος;" 44.

44 G. Millet, *Monuments de l'Athos relevés avec le concours de l'armée française d'Orient et de l'Ecole française d'Athenes* (Paris, 1927), 2. Also see the discussion in Xyngopoulos, *Thessalonique et la Peinture Macédonienne*, 29–30.

45 D. Talbot Rice, review of *Manuel Panselinos* by A. Xyngopoulos, *JHS* 77 (1957): 352.

46 For Astrapas, see E. Trapp, ed., *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit*, Fasz. 1 (Vienna, 1976); for Kalliergis, see Fasz. 5 (Vienna, 1981).

47 Trapp, ed., *Prosopographisches Lexikon*, Fasc. 9 (Vienna, 1989), 133.

48 Vassilaki, "Ὑπήρξε Μανουήλ Πανσέληνος;" 49–50. However, if Xyngopoulos's dating is correct, Dionysios obtained the name Panselinos from an earlier, seventeenth-century source. Accordingly, Vassilaki may be correct about the full name "Manuel Panselinos" being invented by Dionysios, but it would have been an invention elaborated upon by Dionysios, not coined by him.

49 Tsigaridas, "Manuel Panselinos," 24. For a similar argument, see Kakavas, *Dionysios of Fourna*, 119.

50 Tsigaridas, "Manuel Panselinos," 51ff.

51 Ibid., 25.

52 Ibid., 25.

53 Sister Daniilia, A. Tsakalof, K. Bairachtari, and Y. Chryssoulakis, "The Byzantine Wall Paintings from the Protaton Church on Mount Athos, Greece: Tradition and Science," *Journal of Archaeological Science* 34 (2007): 1971–84. The paper asserts, on 1971, that Panselinos "should have been a painter of great justice and merit."

54 Hetherington, *The 'Painter's Manual'*, 91.

55 Vassilaki, "Ὑπῆρξε Μανουήλ Πανσέληνος;" 51.

56 A. Tihon, "Astrological Promenade in Byzantium in the Early Modern Period," in *Occult Science in Byzantium* (Geneva, 2006), 267–8.

57 Ibid., 289–90.

58 Theodore of Studios, *Refutation of the Iconoclasts*, 1.8, *PG* 99: 337. For an overview of Theodore's thought on this matter, see M. Milliner, "Iconoclastic Immunity: Reformed/Orthodox Convergence in Theological Aesthetics based on the Contributions of Theodore of Studios," *Theology Today* 62 (2006): 501–14.

59 E. Mâle, *Religious Art in France of the Thirteenth Century* (Princeton, NJ, 1984), 281.

60 E. Trapp, "The Role of Vocabulary in Byzantine Rhetoric as a Stylistic Device," in *Rhetoric in Byzantium* (Aldershot, 2003), 140ff. For more examples of name punning in Thessalonian culture, see F. Tinnefeld, "Intellectuals in Late Byzantine Thessaloniki," *DOP* 57 (2003): 159.

61 Kalopissi-Verti, "Painters in Late Byzantine Society," 139.

62 Ibid., 142.

63 Ibid., 144, 139. It might appear that a notable exception to these self-effacing signatures can be found in the Boreia inscription that refers to George Kallierges as "the best painter of Thessaly" (p. 146), but these are the words of a bragging donor, not the artist himself.

64 See Kakavas, *Dionysios of Fourna* (as in note 2), 22–4.

65 Xyngopoulos, *Manuel Panselinos*, 20. Nelson suggests that Xyngopoulos preferred the Thessalonian "Western and progressive" achievements versus the "eastern and conservative" Constantinopolitan tradition; see Nelson, "Tale of Two Cities," 134.

66 H. Belting, *Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image before the Era of Art*, trans. E. Jephcott (Chicago, 1994), 9.

PART IV
The Afterlife of Buildings

12

Two Byzantine Churches of Silivri/Selymbria

Robert Ousterhout

The town of Silivri or Selymbria in Turkish Thrace has seen better days. When John Covel visited in 1675, he wrote "The Greekes had formerly 22 churches within ye walls, but now … there are but 14, and those most pittifull little sad holes."[1] He admired the city's fortification system, of which he left a detailed description and some sketches of the walls. The fortifications had all but vanished before Ferudun Dirimtekin reported on them at the 1955 Byzantine Congress.[2] Of the churches seen by Covel, remains of only two had survived into the early twentieth century, when both were destroyed. Because of the Thracian coastal city's proximity to and political connections with Constantinople, its monuments are of particular importance. Silivri also sits at the southern end of the Long Wall, the outermost element in the defensive system of the capital.[3] Although there is almost nothing Byzantine left at Silivri today, surviving visual documentation of its monuments, including some unpublished views, allows the possibility of a reassessment of its Byzantine architecture. In this chapter I shall examine the evidence for two of its Byzantine churches.

The better known of the two churches is St. John, built by Alexios Apokauchos ca. 1328. It is unclear if the dedication was to the Theologian or the Forerunner, although the latter seems more likely. The church had been converted into a mosque, the Fatih Camii, in the period of Mehmet II and was in ruinous condition when it was first brought to scholarly attention in the late nineteenth century.[4] In 1872 Anastasios Stamoules, a native of Selymbria, had written a letter to the Hellenikos Philologikos Syllogos noting that the ruined mosque in the citadel of Selymbria preserved both traces of fresco and numerous monogrammed capitals. His reading of the monograms was jumbled almost beyond recognition as it was published, with several letters misaligned and others apparently misunderstood by the printer (Figure 12.1). In both Alexios monograms, the printer apparently replaced the Λ with a

Δ; in the Parakoimomenos monogram, ΠΡ is misread as ΤΡ. Nevertheless, Stamoules recognized that the monograms belonged to *Alexios Apokauchos Parakoimomenos*. He also provided the monogram for the title *Ktetor*, similarly jumbled in the printing, but he did not provide a transcription for it.[5] Stamoules also included two monograms that apparently have not survived: one reading ΙΩΝΝ, which he interpreted as *Ioannou*; and one printed in the journal as ΟΛΟΡ, which he interpreted as *Theologou*—perhaps misread by the printer from ΘΛΟΓ. Stamoules believed these last two gave the dedication of the church to St. John the Theologian.

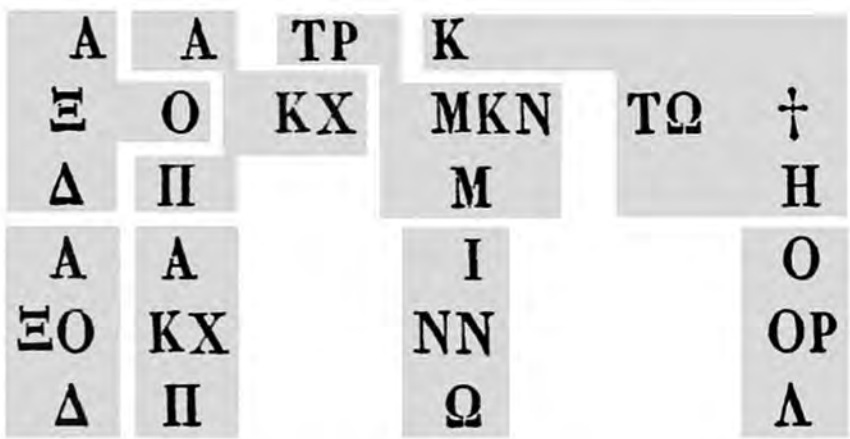


Figure 12.1 Monograms from the capitals from the church of St. John, as recorded by Anastasios Stamoules, from *Ho en Konstantinoupolei Hellenikos Philologikos Syllogos* 6 (1871–1872): 246, with shading added to show the proper grouping of letters.

Writing in 1884 J. H. Mordtmann provided a bit more detail, noting that the ruined mosque, which he called the Fethi djamissi, was originally a Byzantine church and that Christian frescoes were reappearing from beneath the Turkish plaster. A sarcophagus was built into one wall, which Mordtmann took to be that of the founder, and there once stood eight Byzantine columns that bore monograms on their capitals.[6] Mordtmann followed Stamoules's reading of the monograms and for the most part also his transcription, adding only the proper reading of *Ktetor* and noting that the interpretation of the last two monograms was "zweifelhaft." He included a brief historical note about Alexios Apokaukos but recorded nothing more about the mosque/church.

The capitals were taken to the Imperial Ottoman Museums in Istanbul in 1903, and they appeared in Mendel's 1914 catalogue of the sculpture. Although

he noted the accounts of Stamoules and Mordtmann, Mendel mistakenly believed the capitals to have come from Epibates, a fortress near Selymbria, known to have been built by Apokaukos.[7] When the capitals entered the collection, the inventory noted 16, eight of which bore monograms (nos. 761–8). In fact, only seven bore monograms and the eighth bore a cross. Six of them were cut into a T-shape, broadest across the front, with the faces varying slightly in dimensions, with the heights ranging from 14.5 to 18 cm, the upper width between 28 and 33.5 cm, the lower width between 19.4 and 23.3 cm. All preserved setting pins on their lower surfaces (Figure 12.2). The monograms are all framed by spiky leaves, and the faces of the capital are notched at the corners. Two of the monograms read ΑΛΞΟ, which may be resolved as the name Ἀλέξιος. Another two read ΑΠΚΧ, which resolves as the family name Ἀπόκαυχος. One capital repeats the same monogram but combines it with a second monogram reading ΠΡΚΜΜΝ, which may be interpreted as the title Παρακοιμώμενος. Another reads ΚΤΗΤΩΡ, that is, κτήτωρ or founder. Two additional capitals are L-shaped, with one lateral surface left rough, perhaps intended to be anchored to a wall. These measure 17 to 17.3 cm high, with the faces measuring 24.5 in their upper width. One reads ΚΤΗΤΩΡ; the other bears a cross.[8] Both are flanked by the same spiky leaves with notched corners and must come from the same set. Unfortunately, the two capitals allegedly reading *Ioannou Theologou* disappeared without a trace.[9]

Figure 12.2 Monogram reading *Alexios, Apokauchos, Ktetor, Apokauchos, and Parakoimomenos* from the church of St. John, as published by Gustave Mendel, *Musées Impériaux Ottomans*. Catalogue des sculptures grecques, romaines et Byzantines (Istanbul, 1914), 2: 561–2 (nos. 761, 763, 765, 766).

The photographic evidence subsequently was published and discussed by Semavi Eyice and Otto Feld in an exchange of articles. Eyice began in 1964 by presenting a rather miserable double exposed photograph, looking westward toward the minaret and the ruined entrance. The photograph, now in the collection of the Academy of Athens, came from the collection of Miltiades Stamoules, the son of Anastasios, and must be dated ca. 1870–1889. The handwriting on the photograph labels it as the church of St. John in Selymbria, now the Fatih Camii, built by Alexios Apokaukos. Marshalling all evidence published earlier, Eyice was able to associate the building in the photograph (his pl. 1) with the monogrammed capitals and with the site, where meager remains were still to be seen.[10] The church measured slightly more than 10 m wide, resting above a large, multi-chambered, vaulted cistern of the same width, which extended to the west and considerably farther to the east. Noting that the evidence proved that the monogrammed capitals came from St. John and not the fortress at Epibates, Eyice was able to identify the church as that constructed by the Alexios Apokaukos—as, indeed, the Stamoules photograph already had.

Alexios Apokaukos was an important player in the politics of the early fourteenth century: he appears behind the scenes during the first civil war (1321–1328) and was actively involved in the machinations of the second civil war (1341–1347), at least until his death in 1345. For his support of Andronikos III against his grandfather, Apokaukos was rewarded with the position of *parakoimomenos* in 1321 and held the position until the accession of Andronikos III in 1328, when he became *mezazoon*. At the death of Andronikos in 1341, Apokaukos supported the regency of Anna of Savoy and became *megas doux*, the title by which he is remembered, as well as commander of the fleet and eparch of Constantinople.[11] Turning against his former patron John Kantakouzenos, he instituted a reign of terror during the second civil war and was murdered in 1345.

The monograms of the capitals, however, record the title *parakoimomenos*, and this would put the date of the building in the early part of his career, that is, before 1328. Something of an upstart, Apokaukos lacked noble ancestry and was unpopular during his lifetime. Nevertheless, his pattern of patronage follows that of his contemporaries. He may have built a second church at Selymbria, housing the miraculous relic of the head of St. Agathonikos, for which he is celebrated in an encomium by Philotheos Metropolitan of Selymbria, written sometime before 1381.[12] In addition, he is known to have commissioned a manuscript of Hippocrates, now in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, ms. gr. 2144, in which Apokaukos and the ancient doctor are portrayed in a double-portrait frontispiece as if in conversation.

Shortly after Eyice's article appeared Otto Feld expanded the discussion of the building by introducing two photographs from the archive of the German Archaeological Institute taken at the end of the nineteenth century.[13]

These show decorative details clearly related to the best of the Palaiologan monuments of Constantinople. Construction is of alternating bands of brick and stone, walls and apses are detailed with setback niches, alternating rectangular and semicircular, divided into two zones; ceramoplastic decoration appears in the spandrels; all are comparable to the decoration of the parekklesion at the Chora (Kariye Camii), added by Theodore Metochites, ca. 1316–1321.[14] Clearly evident in one photograph is the reused sarcophagus immured in the south wall, and the western entrance is seen to be formed by a tribelon with door and window frames set between its columns.[15] Although a somewhat unusual form of entrance, a similar feature was found at the entrance to the parekklesion of the Chora.[16]

A decade later Eyice was able to re-examine the site of the church in expectation of the construction of a new mosque above the cistern, and he published additional comments and a detailed site plan in 1978 (Figure 12.3).[17] Several details of the plan of the church remain unclear, and very little survived at the center of the naos when Eyice surveyed it. Only the lower courses of the walls still stood, even from the decorative apses. When I visited the site in 1987 these had been covered in concrete and were used as decorative planters. Professor Eyice originally had suggested that the church had a cross-in-square plan, with a dome just over 6 m in diameter, but he changed his mind in 1978 after surveying the site more closely. His site plan shows the surviving walls and the marble panels of the floor. In reconsidering the original form of the building, Eyice was puzzled by the account of the French journalist E. Jouve, who visited the dilapidated mosque in 1854 and described the building as "du genre byzantin le plus bizarre." Jouve noted the cross and monograms sculpted on the capitals and cornice, and he described the interior as follows:

> Le plafond de la grande nef, pave en marbre, est supporté par une double range des petites arcades, que soutiennent des colonnettes carrées très élancées at aplaties, c'est-à-dire que le fût de dix pouces de largeur n'en a que six d'épaisseur. Cette singularité est assez rare pour mériter d'être signalée. La misère, créée par eux, a chasse les musulmans de cette église ursupée. Faute de pouvoir réparer la toiture de plomb à demi enlevée par un ouragan, ils ont été forces de déguerpir; la pluie inondeles nefs, pourrit les plafonds, et les lierres commencent déjà à pénétrer par les croisées vides.[18]

Jouve emphasizes the unusual feature of the double range of diminutive arcades resting on flattened and elongated rectangular colonnettes, with shafts 10 inches long and less than 6 inches thick. He also notes the dilapidated condition of the building, for which the locals lacked the means to repair. Mordtmann had also noted the ruined condition of the building, as well as the columns with monogrammed capitals.[19]

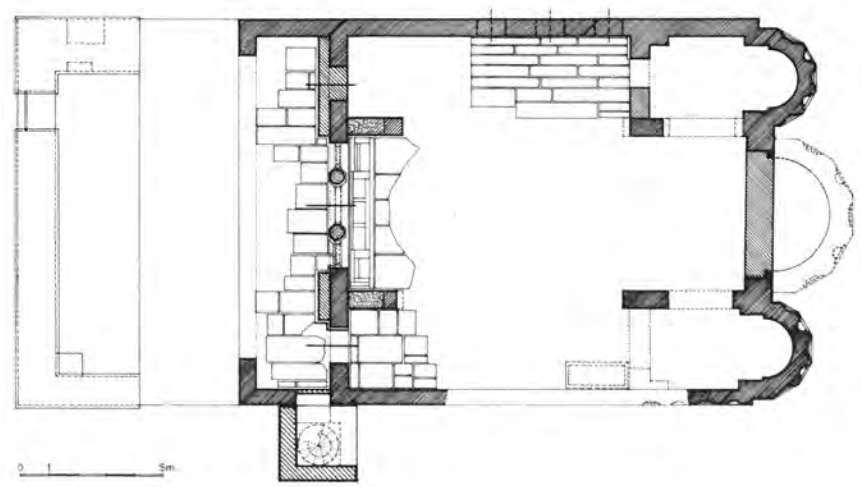


Figure 12.3 Church of St. John, site plan (after S. Eyice, "Encore une fois l'église d'Alexis Apocauque à Selymbria (=Silivri)," *Byzantion* 48 (1978): fig. 2).

Figure 12.4 Church of St. John, seen from the southeast, ca. 1912–1913 (photograph by Stéfane Tchaprachinkov, Bulgarian National Archive).

On the basis of these accounts, Eyice proposed two possible reconstructions for St. John: as a domed church, with arcades separating the transepts, and as a basilica with its roof supported on the thin colonnettes.[20] Although he could find no good comparisons for the basilica, he favored the second solution, as it is clear from the account by Jouve that, at least in the mid-nineteenth century, the building was not domed. Several unpublished bases and capitals survive at the site that may have accompanied these colonnettes.

That was the state of scholarship as of 1978. However, several unpublished photographs taken in Silivri during the Balkan Wars and now in the Bulgarian National Archive add some new information about this problematic monument.[21] Taking advantage of perceived Ottoman weakness, the Bulgarian army invaded Thrace in 1912–1913, hoping to secure a seaport on the Marmara or Aegean. At the same time they were also interested in the cultural heritage of the region, and archaeologists such as N. Mavrodinov accompanied the troops. Two virtually identical scrapbooks of photographs are preserved, taken by an aristocratic Bulgarian soldier who gives his name in French form as Stéfane Tchaprachinkov. He had presented the scrapbooks to members of the royal family—one to the Queen of Bulgaria and the other to the Prince of Tyrnova (Turnovo). Although they lack captions, the photographs of the collections document the exploits of the Bulgarian army, and this explains the omnipresent soldiers in the photographs.

There are several impressive views of the city walls—mostly of the eastern stretch, and of one of the gates. The fortifications have since disappeared, and the photographs may be added to the information presented by Dirimtekin and Covel for a fuller documentation of the city walls. There are also several photographs of St. John, and these add some details to the architectural history.

The first photograph is a general view from the southeast, showing the eastern apses—the main apse clearly missing—the western entrances, and the sarcophagus (Figure 12.4). It is actually taken from the same vantage point as Eyice's first photograph, minus the double exposure and the laundry and also quite similar to Feld's first photograph. The second photograph is a detail of the south apse, taken more from the east than Feld's second photograph, so that we can see the details of the window (Figure 12.5). Intriguingly similar to that of the Chora parekklesion, it is set within a single facet, the triple arcade tall and narrow, with exceptionally thin mullions and stilted arches.[22] Although this detail may seem insignificant, it is unusual, as on apses with multiple facets, the windows normally are set one per facet. This feature, combined with the tribelon entrance as well as the similarities in detailing and construction technique, leads me to suspect that St. John was built by the same workshop as the Chora—probably immediately after the completion of their work in Constantinople.

Figure 12.5 Church of St. John, detail of the diakonikon apse, ca. 1912–1913 (photograph by Stéfane Tchaprachinkov, Bulgarian National Archive).

Figure 12.6 Church of St. John, interior of the naos looking east, ca. 1912–1913 (photograph by Stéfane Tchaprachinkov, Bulgarian National Archive).

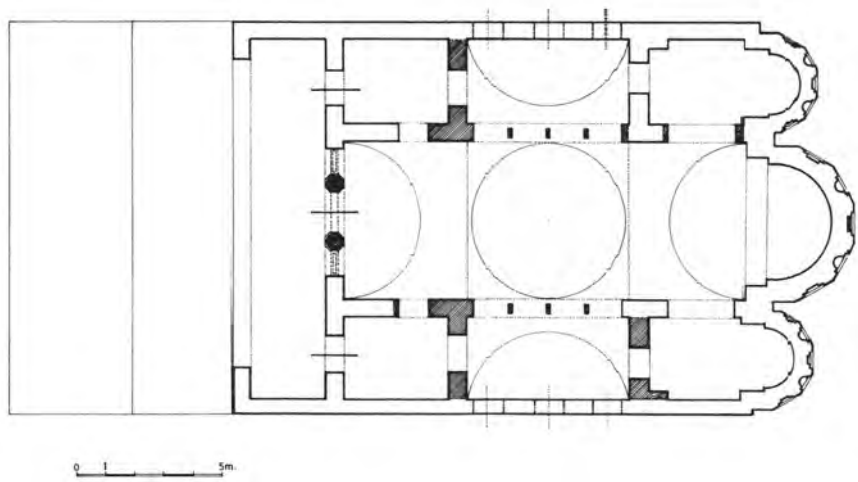


Figure 12.7 Church of St. John, restored plan (after S. Eyice, "Encore une fois l'église d'Alexis Apocauque à Selymbria (=Silivri)," *Byzantion* 48 (1978): fig. 3).

The third photograph provides a view looking east (Figure 12.6). In it we can detect the traces of fresco. A lunging figure in the north spandrel of the apse suggests the archangel Gabriel of the Annunciation, a scene frequently depicted on the spandrels flanking the main apse. A smaller, haloed figure appears on the lower wall beneath a decorative border. The photograph also shows several different types of masonry construction. The very neat construction of the south apse to the left, with alternating bands of brick and stone, stands in sharp contrast to the adjacent pilaster of rough stone facing on a rubble core. The cornice stops abruptly at the juncture, and cornices do not appear on the other masonry surfaces. The piers are similarly rough, but they include thin brick courses. The masonry of the east wall—that is, behind and above the fresco—is exceptionally rough, reinforced with an exposed wooden beam above the arch. To the north, the opening into the prothesis has been blocked with a mixture of brick and stone. Similar discrepancies appear on the west wall (Figure 12.4), with a change of construction evident in the projecting spur walls. In short, we are clearly looking at several construction phases.

The form of the apse has also been changed, for it obviously does not correspond to the height or the elegance of the lateral apse (Figure 12.5). Its diameter has been narrowed and the crown of the arch lowered dramatically. The prothesis bay has been closed off, perhaps transformed into an annexed chapel, and the rebuilt eastern wall included a prothesis niche, apparently to replace it, to the left of the apse opening. The haloed figure appears immediately to the right of the niche. Because the fresco appears on this wall,

which would seem to represent the last and the roughest of the alterations, *all* of the modifications just noted must have occurred in the Late Byzantine period. The building was converted to a mosque by Fatih Mehmet ca. 1462/1463; thus the fresco—and all of the construction—must date before this time. The only exception may be the additional masonry that appears blocking the arched opening. This may actually be later, creating a flat eastern wall for the mosque.

The north wall is also reconstructed at its western extreme, as a photograph by Feld clearly shows.[23] Based on the amount of reconstruction evident in the photographs, I suspect the structure seen by Jouve in the mid-nineteenth century may have been far removed from the Byzantine original. Because of the luxury of the construction and decorative detail, I would like to see the original form of the church of Alexios Apokauchos to have been domed, either with or without Jouve's columns separating the central domed bay from the flanking bays, as per Eyice's rejected plan (Figure 12.7).[24] The marble flooring, as recorded by Eyice, supports this interpretation. The panels along the north wall terminate in a straight line that would correspond with the limit of the cross arm in a cross-in-square church (see Figure 12.3). Moreover, the distinctive curved edge the surviving marble flooring at the west end may reflect the breakage of the flooring as the central dome collapsed onto it. Thus, the rough construction of the spur walls and piers may have been the result of rebuilding the church as a basilica following a collapse, perhaps the result of an earthquake, in the Late Byzantine period.

As we reconsider the plan of the building, the sarcophagus deserves further consideration. I suspect that the capitals now in the museum are something of a red herring: from their shape they are meant to be affixed to a wall. Eyice, and following him Sarah Brooks, suggested they came from the iconostasis, but perhaps they came from a tomb monument—a canopy of some sort around, above, or even behind the sarcophagus.[25] Actually, Mortmann's description suggests this: "An der einen Wand ist ein Sarkophag eingemauert gewesen, offenbar des Gründers, und dort standen vor Zeiten acht byzantinische Säulen, welche auf den Capitälen folgenden Monogramme trugen" (On one wall a sarcophagus is immured, obviously that of the founder, and there, before some time, stood eight Byzantine columns, which bore the following monograms on the capitals).[26] The columns and capitals may have been engaged to the wall or formed part of a freestanding structure or enclosure of some sort. Of course, monograms with names, family names, and titles are standard features in the decoration of late Byzantine tombs, and although it may not be possible to reconstruct its exact form, the founder's tomb may be the most appropriate place for the capitals to have been placed originally.

We are left, then, with an incomplete record of an archaeological puzzle. What is perhaps most significant from the foregoing analysis is the evidence for the continued investment in the church of St. John, long after

its initial construction, as well as the memory of its association with Alexios Apokauchos. The inhabitants of Selymbria had both the interest and the wherewithal to repair and redecorate the church through the troubled last century of Byzantine hegemony.

The second church at Silivri, dedicated to St. Spyridon, survived in a better state of preservation into the early twentieth century, but it remains less well known. Covel probably also visited it, although he does not provide a name: "within ye castle now stands an old monastery so near ye brow of ye cliff as I am confident in very little time it will follow ye fate wch ye wall have had … The monastery … hath been a very pretty little building, but now running to ruine, there being no endowments or revenue left to repair it; there is but one old καλόγερος left, who lives onely upon what few aspers he can get by ye charity of strangers."[27]

Ant. K. P. Stamoules, another son of Anastasios, published two photographs of the church in 1926, one taken in 1878, when the building was in a ruinous condition, and another taken after its subsequent restoration, which was completed in 1905.[28] The published photographs were unfortunately of exceptionally poor quality and are thus of little documentary value. However, in 1938, Stamoules's son, M. A. Stamoules, grandson of Anastasios, published a second account of the church that included a detailed description and measurements of the building as provided by the restoration architect, K. Mavrides.[29] Based on this information, Horst Hallensleben proposed a reconstruction of the now-lost church in 1986 (Figure 12.8).[30] He concluded that St. Spyridon had a domed-octagon design, similar to that of the Nea Moni or the Panagia Krina on Chios.

The description by Mavrides tells us the following: the naos is rectangular, its four walls support the base of the dome; each of the sides is formed by walls of the same thickness with an arch carried on two columns and a pilaster on each side. Of the four arches, under those toward the north and south are doors with triple windows above them. Under the western arch is the only entrance in use; above is the vault arch of the women's gallery. Under the fourth, eastern arch is the Beautiful Door of the iconostasis. The four corners of the cubic core are spanned by conches, joined to the arches to form a circular crown at the dome base. The dome rises above a drum, which is round on the interior and 16-sided on the exterior. The bema is flanked by pastophoria, with three apses. The inner narthex is barrel vaulted. The outer narthex is U-shaped, the north and west sides are preserved. The south continued as a peristyle, its columns then scattered in the cemetery. Its wooden roof was carried on great beams, whose supports are visible on the south façade. Above the western portion was an upper story that connected with the women's gallery.[31]

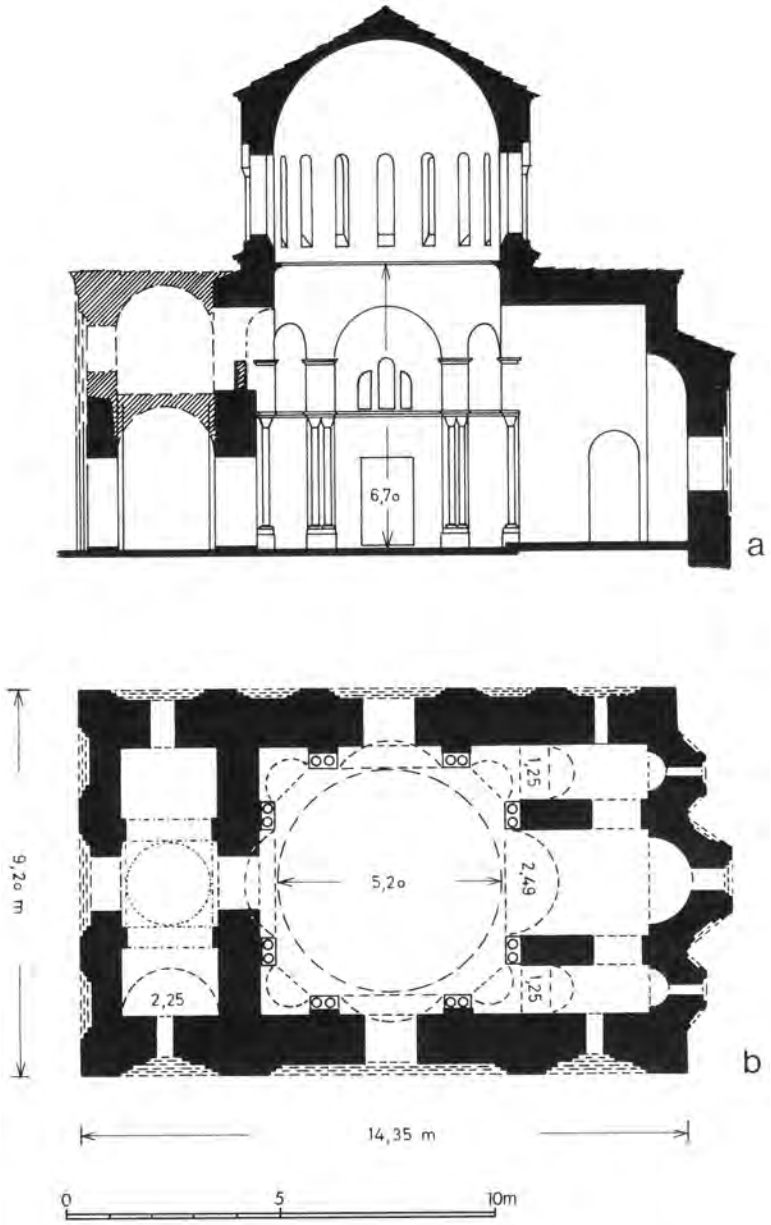


Figure 12.8 Church of St. Spyridon, restored plan and elevation (after Horst Hallensleben, "Die ehemalige Spyridonkirche in Silivri (Selymbria) – eine Achtstützenkirche im Gebiet Konstantinopels," *Studien zur spätantiken und byzantinischen Kunst Friedrich Wilhelm Deichmann gewidmet*, ed. Otto Feld and Urs Peschlow (Mainz, 1986), 1: 40, fig. 1).

The building measures just over 14 x 9 m overall, with a dome diameter of 5.20 m, its cornice 6.70 m above the floor level. The discrepancy between the overall width and the diameter of the dome is a bit problematic but may be explained by the thick walls and the pilaster and coupled-column projections. Sadly, as Stamoules the Younger reported, the church was destroyed to its foundations following the departure of the Greeks.[32] Investigating the site, Hallensleben discovered a base for one set of the coupled columns that once lined the interior of the naos—and thus encourages the close relationship with Nea Moni, the naos of which was lined with coupled colonnettes.[33]

The National Archive of Bulgaria provided a single photograph of St. Spyridon, in which it lies just behind the east wall of the citadel (Figure 12.9). In it we see the recently restored dome of the church peeking through a breach in the wall. This photograph, combined with those published by the Stamoulides, suggest that the restoration of the building was at best heavy-handed. However, an unpublished pre-restoration view of St. Spyridon helps to clarify its original form. A panorama of Selymbria, which includes the church in ruins, drawn by the eighteenth-century Polish architect, Johann Christian Kamsetzer. Kamsetzer was in Constantinople in 1776–1777 and traveled in Greece and Turkey at that time.[34] The drawing, now in the University Museum in Warsaw, shows the church from the southeast, with the arcading of the south façade and the brick and window details of the apses clearly delineated (Figure 12.10). He depicts the dome as collapsed, but with portions of the drum surviving.

Figure 12.9 Church of St. Spyridon seen through the eastern city wall ca. 1912–1913 (photograph by Stéfane Tchaprachinkov, Bulgarian National Archive).

Figure 12.10 Citadel of Selymbria seen from the southeast, by Johann Christian Kamsetzer, detail (Uniwersytet Warszawski, Gabinet Rycin Biblioteki Uniwersyteckiej, Zb. Krol., T 173 no. 206a).

Figure 12.11 Church of St. Spyridon, before 1903 (photograph by Ant. K. P. Stamoules, Athens, Christian Archaeological Society, photograph XAE 3455).

From Kamsetzer's drawing we get a sense of the surface treatment suggested by the grainy photograph of Stamoules, although Kamsetzer seems to have regularized the arcading of the south façade. His view also includes the remains of the outer narthex at its eastern and western extremes. From this it is clear that the core of the building and the ambulatory form two separate constructions. Stamoules describes the construction of the church proper as having exceptionally thick mortar beds, and Hallensleben concludes from this that the church was constructed in the recessed brick technique.[35]

The last detail may be confirmed from a photograph presented by Ant. K. P. Stamoules to the Christian Archaeological Society in Athens in 1903. The photograph, which has only recently come to light, shows the restored church from the northwest—that is, more or less the same view as the photograph of the restored church published in 1926, but with one critical difference (Figure 12.11).[36] Although undated, the new photograph must have been taken when the restoration was nearing completion, for the exterior surfaces are not yet plastered and the lead sheeting has not yet been added to cover the dome. The folds of the lead sheeting are evident in the 1926 photograph, in spite of its blurred condition, and they are very clear in the Bulgarian photograph. Because of the incomplete state of the building in the new Stamoules photograph, the distinction between the surviving lower portions of the church and the reconstructed upper portions is quite clear. Visible on the pilasters and lower walls of the west façade are the broad mortar joints characteristic of the recessed brick technique.

The form and details of St. Spyridon as just described would seem to correspond quite closely to the church of the Panagia Krina on Chios, which is dated either toward the end of the twelfth century or slightly later. Indeed, this is the comparison Hallensleben proposed for the church, as well as the model he used for his reconstruction drawings. The Panagia Krina follows the domed-octagon model of the Nea Moni and is constructed in the recessed brick technique.[37] A detail evident on the apses of Kamsetzer's view encourages this comparison: the facets of the main apse are topped by a band of meander pattern. The apse forms are simpler and lower than those at the Panagia Krina, however; the windows are broader, following the facets, although it would appear they were blocked.

The appearance of a domed-octagon church in the immediate vicinity of the capital has important implications. The type is known as the "island octagon" as most surviving examples are on the island of Chios and are late twelfth- and thirteenth-century copies of Nea Moni.[38] The immediate question that arises is how did this distinctive building come to appear in Selymbria? In his analysis of St. Spyridon, Hallensleben considered two possibilities: either the building was constructed in the Middle Byzantine period, as a result of direct connections to Constantinople, or it was erected in the thirteenth century

when the region had been reconquered by the Laskarids.[39] Both possibilities are worth reconsidering.

The unusual design of Nea Moni was undoubtedly the product of masons from Constantinople. Some time ago I argued that its design was created under imperial patronage by modifying a cross-in-square church during the process of construction, probably by masons from Constantinople.[40] Recent investigations at Nea Moni bear out this assessment, at least in part, for changes in construction came to light when the external plaster was removed.[41] Was the unusual octagon domed design created specifically at Nea Moni or in Constantinople? In his exemplary monograph on the architecture of Nea Moni, Charalambos Bouras offered the possibility of a Late Antique prototype for the domed octaconch, suggesting an association with the Mausoleum of Constantine at the church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople. This suggestion was based on the old tradition that the design of Nea Moni was based on the "lesser church of the Apostles" in Constantinople.[42]

In contrast, I pointed out certain discrepancies in the interior design that had encouraged my emphasis of the experimental nature of the building. I noted one in particular: the exceptionally low forms of the sanctuary vaults, which are visually overpowered by the tall dome. In the interior, the octaconch transition actually blocks the view into the sanctuary, as the eastern niche drops far below the springing of the vault, thereby obscuring the view of the apse mosaic.[43] In *all* later Chian copies of Nea Moni, this is corrected by extending the eastern niche of the octaconch to form the bema vault.[44]

Returning to St. Spyridon, both surviving views of the ruined building significantly contrast the low form of the apses against the rising remains of the ruined dome. In the new Stamoules photograph, the easternmost arch of the lateral façade arcade drops dramatically below the level of the other arches. The forms correspond more closely to Nea Moni than they do to any of its successors. This, combined with the simple façade articulation, lack of elaborate ceramoplastic decoration, and the use of the recessed brick technique all encourage me to place St. Spyridon closer chronologically to the Nea Moni, and closer to the place where its design originated—that is, in Middle Byzantine Constantinople. The surviving and recorded variations of the domed-octagon church type in and around Constantinople, such as the Kamariotissa on Heybeliada (Chalke), St. George in the Mangana, and quite possibly the church of the Theotokos Peribleptos, encourage this conclusion.[45]

Taken together, the two lost churches at Silivri broaden our perspective on the architecture of the Byzantine capital. They also emphasize the formative role of Constantinople in the development and dissemination of new architectural ideas. The first phase of St. John appears as a legitimate successor to the Chora, I suspect by the same talented workshop, and I wish it were possible to say more about this important building. The analysis of St. Spyridon, on the other hand, helps us to connect the innovative design of the

Nea Moni more closely to the workshops of the Byzantine capital, whether it preceded or—more likely—followed its construction.

Acknowledgments

My interest in the monuments of Silivri began years ago with the encouragement of Prof. Ćurčić. I dedicate this paper to him with respect and gratitude.

Notes

1 John Covel, Journal, British Library, Add. MS 22, 912, fol. 181v; for the relevant portion of the text see P. Magdalino, "Byzantine Churches of Selymbria," *DOP* 32 (1978): 309–18, esp. 316.

2 F. Dirimtekin, "La Fortress Byzantine de Selymbria," *CEB 10, 1955* (Istanbul, 1957): 127–29.

3 J. Crow and A. Ricci, "Investigating the Hinterland of Constantinople: Interim Report on the Anastasian Wall Project," *JRA* 10 (1997): 235–62; see also http://longwalls.ncl.ac.uk/AnastasianWall.htm.

4 For dating the conversion to 1462/3, see Magdalino, "Byzantine Churches," 314.

5 The letter was published in *Ho en Konstantinoupolei Hellenikos Philologikos Syllogos* 6 (1871–1872): 245–6, no. 2. It is unclear if the + (upper right) represents a separate capital with a cross rather than a monogram (as occurs among the surviving capitals) or the missing T from *ktetor*.

6 J. H. Mordtmann, "Zur Epigraphik von Thrakien," *ArchEpMitt* 8 (1884): 211–12.

7 G. Mendel, *Musées Impériaux Ottomans. Catalogue des sculptures grecques, romaines et Byzantines* (Istanbul, 1914), 2: 560–64; for the correct identification see the clarification by S. Eyice, "Alexis Apocauque et l'église Byzantine de Sélymbria (Silivri)," *Byzantion* 34 (1964): 77–104, esp. 86–91.

8 Those not illustrated in Mendel were later published by S. Eyice, "Encore une fois l'église d'Alexis Apocauque à Selymbria (=Silivri)," *Byzantion* 48 (1978): 406–16, esp. pl. 4.

9 Another capital with three monogram roundels was published by G. Seure, "Antiquités thraces de la Propontide: Collection Stamoulis," *BCH* 36 (1912): 572–3 and fig. 16; it apparently came from the metropolitan church and not from St. John; see also Eyice, "Alexis Apocauque," 90–91 and fig. 3. One monogram reads Alexios, another perhaps Doukas; the third is illegible and perhaps incorrectly transcribed.

10 Eyice, "Alexis Apocauque," photograph reproduced as pl. 1, with a detail as pl. 2.

11 For the history of the period see D. Nichol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium 1261–1453* (London, 1972), esp. 159–216; A. Kazhdan in *ODB* 1: 134–5, with additional bibliography.

12 Magdalino, "Byzantine Churches," 310–11.

13 O. Feld, "Noch Einmal Alexios Apokaukos und die byzantinische Kirche von Selymbria (Silivri)," *Byzantion* 27 (1967): 57–65, esp. pls. 1–2. The photographs (Ist. Neg. 4428, 4429) were given to the Germain Archaeological Institute from the estate of Friedrich Schrader, who had left Istanbul in 1918.

14 R. Ousterhout, "Constantinople, Bithynia, and Regional Developments in Later Byzantine Architecture," in *The Twilight of Byzantium*, ed. S. Ćurčić and D. Mouriki (Princeton, NJ, 1991), 75–91.

15 Feld, "Noch Einmal," pl. 1.

16 R. Ousterhout, *The Architecture of the Kariye Camii in Istanbul*, DOS 25 (Washington, D.C., 1987), fig. 86.

17 Eyice, "Alexis Apocauque," figs. 1–2.

18 E. Jouve, *Guerre d'Orient. Voyage à la suite des armées allies en Turquie, en Valachie, et en Crimée* (Paris, 1855), 2: 9.

19 Mordtmann, "Epigraphik von Thrakien," 211–12.

20 Eyice, "Alexis Apocauque," 412–16 and figs. 3–4.

21 I thank Prof. James Crow for bringing the photographs to my attention and Prof. Elka Bakalova and Mr. Stanislav Stanev for their assistance in locating them.

22 Ousterhout, *Architecture of the Kariye*, 125 and pl. 139.

23 Feld, "Noch Einmal," pl. 3.

24 Eyice, "Alexis Apocauque," fig. 3.

25 S. Brooks, "Capitals with Monograms of Alexios Apokaukos," in *Byzantium Faith and Power 1261–1557*, ed. H. Evans (New York, 2004), 111.

26 Mordtmann, "Epigraphik von Thrakien," 211–12.

27 Covel, Journal, fol. 180v and 181v, noted by H. Hallensleben, "Die ehemalige Spyridonkirche in Silivri (Selymbria) – eine Achtstützenkirche im Gebiet Konstantinopels," in *Studien zur spätantiken und byzantinischen Kunst Friedrich Wilhelm Deichmann gewidmet*, ed. Otto Feld and Urs Peschlow (Mainz, 1986), 1: 35–46, on 38 n. 21.

28 Ant. K. P. Stamoules, "Anekdota Byzantina Mnemeia en Thrake," *DChAE*, ser. 2, 3 (1926): 62–6.

29 M. A. Stamoules, "Ho en Selymbria byzantinos naos tou Hagiou Spyridonos," *Thrakika* 9 (1938): 37–44.

30 Hallensleben, "Spyridonkirche."

31 M. A. Stamoules, "Ho en Selymbria byzantinos naos," 38–9.

32 Ibid., 37.

33 Hallensleben, "Spyridonkirche," pl. 8, fig. 1.

34 Uniwersytet Warszawski, Gabinet Rycin Biblioteki Uniwersyteckiej, Zb. Krol., T 173 no. 206a. I thank Tadeusz Zadrozny for his assistance locating the photograph.

35 Hallensleben, "Spyridonkirche," 42.

36 The photograph was recently published in the exhibition catalogue *Thrace-Constantinople: Giorgios Lambakis's Journey (1902)* (Athens, 2007), 74–5. I thank the late Demetrios Konstantios, Director of the Museum, for permission to publish the photograph.

37 In his seminal work on Laskarid architecture, Buchwald dated the building to ca. 1235; however, the inscription form the narthex tomb would put it into the late twelfth century; see H. Buchwald, "Lascarid Architecture," *JÖB* 28 (1979): 261–96. For a late twelfth-century date, see Ch. Pennas, "Some Aristocratic Founders: The Foundation of Panagia Krina on Chios," in *Women and Byzantine Monasticism* (Athens, 1991), 61–6; the tomb dated by inscription to 1197 provides a *terminus ante quem* for the construction of the church.

38 Ch. Bouras, *Nea Moni on Chios: History and Architecture* (Athens, 1982); A. K. Orlandos, *Monuments byzantins de Chios* (Athens, 1930); Ch. Bouras, "Twelfth and Thirteenth Century Variations of the Single Domed Octagon Plan," *DChAE* 9 (1977–1979): 21–34; C. Mango, "Les monuments de l'architecture du XI^{e} siècle et leur signification historique et sociale," *TM* 6 (1976): 351–65.

39 Hallensleben, "Spyridonkirche," 42–6.

40 R. Ousterhout, "Originality in Byzantine Architecture: The Case of Nea Moni," *JSAH* 51 (1992): 48–60.

41 A. Misaelidou and A. Kavvadia-Spondule, "Paratereseis kai syschetismoi stoicheion sto Katholiko tes Neas Mones Chiou," *Byzantina* 25 (2005): 315–74; S. Voyadjis, "The Katholikon of Nea Moni in Chios Unveiled," *JÖB* 59 (2009): 229–42.

42 Bouras, *Nea Moni*, 139–45.

43 Ousterhout, "Originality," fig. 10.

44 Ousterhout, "Originality," 52; Orlandos, *Monuments byzantins*, 2: pls. 31–7; 49–53; Bouras, "Twelfth and Thirteenth Century Variations," 21–34.

45 Ousterhout, "Originality," 56–8; T. F. Mathews, "Observations on the Church of Panagia Kanariotissa on Heybeliada (Chalke), Istanbul," *DOP* 27 (1973): 115–27; C. Mango, "A Note on the Panagia Kamariotissa and Some Imperial Foundations of the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries at Constantinople," *DOP* 27 (1973): 127–32; Ch. Bouras, "Typologikes paratereseis sto Katholiko tes mones ton Magganon," *ArchDelt* 31 (1978): 137–51. Based on the recently excavated substructures of the Peribleptos, Dark and Özgümüş argue against a domed octagon plan for this building. However, the superstructure need not follow the plan of the substructure; see K. Dark, "The Church and Monastery of St. Mary Peribleptos," *The Burlington Magazine* 141/1160 (November 1999): 656–64; F. Özgümüş, "Peribleptos Manastırı (Sulu Manastır)," *Sanat Araştırmalar Dergisi* 14 (1997/1998): 21–31.

13

Interpreting Medieval Architecture through Renovations: The Roof of the Old Basilica of San Paolo fuori le Mura in Rome

Nicola Camerlenghi

On the night of 15 July 1823, the Roman sky lit up in a warm, eerie glow as flames mercilessly brought down the Basilica of San Paolo fuori le Mura (Figure 13.1). The culprit was a distracted carpenter who, after a long night of laboring in the rafters, had left a candle burning amid the dry timbers. In so doing, he had unwittingly consigned his repairs to be the last in a long line of restorations to the basilica's roof. Indeed, between the fifth and nineteenth centuries, there were—by my count—21 recorded roof restorations (Table 13.1).

Table 13.1 St. Paul's outside the walls—documented roof restorations through the nineteenth century

Date	Renovation summary	Patron	Sources
442–450	Major repairs to the entire nave roof	Leo the Great	Footnote 7, 8
498–514	Renovations to "*cameram*"	Symmachus	*Liber Pontificalis* (as in footnote 7), 1, 262–3
599–600	Request for five lengthy timbers from Calabria	Gregory the Great	Footnotes 26, 27
687–701	Beams from Calabria to replace the oldest beams	Sergius I	Footnote 29

719	Roof (of transept?) renovated with beams from Calabria	Gregory II	Footnote 29
731–741	Five beams replaced and roof reworked in proximity of apse	Gregory III	Footnote 29
780s	Thirty-five beams replaced perhaps in conjunction with request for beams from Charlemagne	Adrian I (Charlemagne?)	Footnotes 30, 31, 32
801	Renovations after earthquake	Leo III	Footnote 37
1074–1075	Roof renovated	Gregory VII (William of Aquitaine)	Footnotes 35, 36
1130–1143	Transverse wall built in the transept, shortening the necessary lengths of timbers	Anaclete II or Innocent II	*Liber Pontificalis* (as in footnote 7), 2, 384; and N. Camerlenghi, footnote 39
1305–1314	Fire at the Lateran motivates removal of beams at San Paolo	Clement V, John XXII (?)	Footnotes 41, 42
*1349	Earthquake damages bell tower, perhaps requiring adjacent roof repairs	Unknown	See M. Baratta, *I Terremoti d'Italia* (Turin, 1901)
1389	Pope collects donations for renovations of the roof	Boniface IX	Palazzi, *Gesta pontificum* (Venice, 1687), vol. 3, 393
1404–1406	Renovations undertaken to trusses	The faithful and *rioni* of the city	Footnotes 44, 45; A. Schiavo, "Diario di Roma," in *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, col. 5761/24.5
1426	Renovation of roof tiles	Martin V	Footnote 48, 49, 50
1451	Wooden beams brought to basilica to be installed	Nicholas V	See *Roma 1300–1875… atlante* (Milan, 1985), 93
1587	Ceiling installed in the transept	Cassinese Congregation	See Nicolai, *Della Basilica* (as in note 13), 308; Vatican City, BAV, Cod.Ottob.Lat. 568, fol. 12v

*1611	The monks resolved to build a ceiling for the nave (unlikely that anything was actually begun)	Benedictine monks	See "Avvisi," *Miscellanea della Società Romana di Storia Patria* (1920), 184
1644–1655	Pope donated money for roof renovations that were subsequently undertaken	Innocent X	Rome, Biblioteca dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei e Corsiniana, Cod. Corsiniano 896
1664	More beams were requested and granted for construction of seven trusses; roof tiles with Chigi insignia	Alexander VII	See C. Astorri, *Eminentissima Commissione Cardinalizia per il Venerabile Monastero di S. Paolo extra Muros* (Roma, 1940), 96–7
1673	Roof renovated; roof tiles with Clement's insignia	Clement X and Innocent XI	See Nicolai, *Della Basilica* (as in note 13), inscription 259; and also "Description de Rome Moderne," in *Lo Specchio di Roma Barocca*, ed. J. Connor (New York, 1991), 62
1724	Four beams from Calabria and Tuscany and additional money offered for roof of nave	Innocent XIII and Benedict XIII	Rome, Biblioteca dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei e Corsiniana, Cod. Corsiniano 896, fol. 179
1823	Repairs to lead joints of roof that would eventually cause the fire	Pius VII	*Diario di Roma*, 2 Agosto, 1820, n.62, p. 6

* renovation not fully documented.

This chapter focuses on roof restorations at San Paolo during the Middle Ages. The basilica has been cited as the earliest well-documented and dated example of medieval roofing. We shall correct misconceptions that have led scholars to adopt San Paolo as a touchstone of medieval roofing technology. A second, more far-reaching goal is to present the history of medieval roof restorations at San Paolo as rich and revealing episodes in the history of the basilica itself. Finally, we point to the value that restorations offer in recounting a building's history.

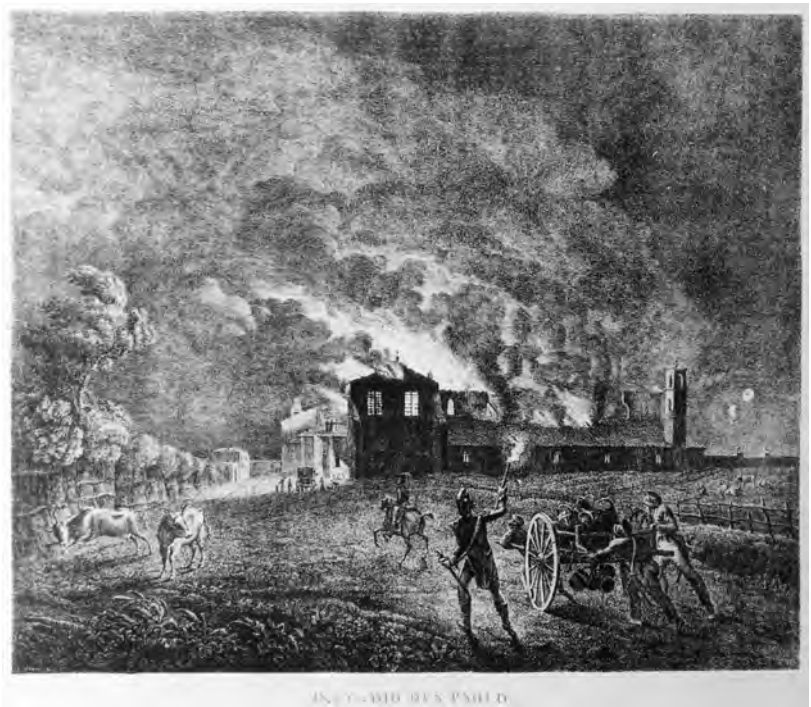


Figure 13.1 Ascanio Conte de Brazzà, *Incendio di S. Paolo*, lithograph, 1823.

Figure 13.2 Giovanni Paolo Pannini, *Basilica of San Paolo*, oil on canvas, 1741.

Roof restorations were among the most common and most challenging transformations for the major Roman basilicas. Constant exposure to the elements—including fires, lightning storms, and earthquakes—made the roof the most vulnerable part of a building. Lightning would remain one of the most frequent causes of roof fires until the invention of the lightning rod with grounding cables in the 1750s. The challenge of restoring the roof was most evident in San Paolo's nave and transept, where the clear width of 24.2 m in both was, along with the nave of St. Peter's, the widest span in Rome and among the widest in medieval Western Europe.[1] The required timber length was closer to 27 m, because the horizontal beams extended outside the thickness of the supporting walls (Figure 13.2).

At the start of its life in 395, the basilica was capped by a splendid roof and ceiling. In a passage from his fifth-century *Peristephanon*, a poem in praise of the martyrs of the Church, Prudentius described the ceiling: "[Emperor] Honorius laid plates on the beams (*bratteolas trabibus*) so as to make all the light within golden like the sun's radiance at its rising, and [he] supported the gold-paneled ceiling (*fulvis laqueribus*) on [columns] of Parian marble set out there in four rows."[2]

Prudentius observed a basilica with a gilded coffered ceiling in the interior that suffused light from the clerestory, thus imbuing the interior with a golden aura.[3] Whether the exterior of the basilica's roof was originally covered with bronze tiles, as some have argued, is open to debate. For example, Rodolfo Lanciani interpreted Prudentius's description as an indication of external bronze roof tiles, suggesting these had been taken from the temple of Apollo on the Palatine, which burned in March of 363.[4] Prudentius's description provides only a vague understanding of the earliest roofing system, and the lack of clarity with regard to its original state is emblematic of uncertainties in later periods.

Although the first major transformations of San Paolo are among the most contested by scholars, fortunately the occurrence of an important early roof restoration is unquestioned. In fact, the *Liber Pontificalis* recounts the patronage of Leo the Great (440–461) following a fire or earthquake. Paolo Liverani has discussed the part of Leo's interventions that related to the roof.[5] Likewise, a monumental marble inscription originally located above the main door in the interior of the basilica mentioned the work—including the roof restoration (*tecta reformat*)—that Pope Leo undertook to return the devastated interior to a space befitting the resting place of St. Paul.[6] The extent of Pope Leo's work in the nave and transept suggests the damage was so great that the roof required a complete reconstruction. It is likely that at this time San Paolo lost its coffered ceiling and acquired an open-timber roof. Such a roof was characterized by trusses that permitted an unobstructed view through the rafters, to the purlins and the underside of the external tiles. Open-timber roofs would become the dominant medieval Roman roofing type.

Historical Misinformation about the Roof of San Paolo

Early Modern commentators on the roof of San Paolo noted its impressive dimensions but, failing to recognize that it was the sum total of many restorations, tended to draw incomplete conclusions about its history. For instance, Giovanni Marangoni's 1749 guidebook to pilgrimage churches in Rome included a detailed description of the roof based on a combination of on-site fact gathering—including accurate measurements of the beams—and a dangerous dose of conjecture, such as his proclamations that the beams were all fir and from Calabria.[7] The latter was based primarily on the *Liber Pontificalis*, which included several references to Calabrian fir.[8] His deductions surely would have been tempered had Marangoni been aware of the numerous restorations that preceded his study. Although some of the episodes mentioned in the *Liber Pontificalis* specify fir timbers from Calabria, in later periods timbers from other regions were employed at San Paolo and elsewhere in Rome.[9] Marangoni's generalizations were typical of the Early Modern pilgrimage guidebook tradition, built on the merger of folklore and nascent archival research.

Early analyses of the basilica's roof were not only plagued by the absence of a serious monograph on San Paolo, but also by erroneous attributions.[10] For example, in Onofrio Panvinio's posthumous 1570 publication of the seven principal pilgrimage basilicas of Rome, the inscription of Leo the Great—and thus the extensive repairs indicated upon it—were misattributed to Pope Leo III (795–816).[11] As we shall see, Leo III did indeed repair San Paolo's roof, but on a smaller scale than his namesake. Francesco Cancellieri and H. Grisar had noted Panvinio's mistake in the nineteenth century, but later scholars reiterated the misattribution with unfortunate and profound repercussions.[12]

Panvinio's misattribution was first repeated in Rondelet's multi-volume *Traité théorique et pratique de l'art de bâtir*, published between 1802 and 1817,[13] in which the error was elaborated to identify a specific group of trusses as built by Pope Leo III. Of the two types of truss covering the nave, Rondelet posited that those with queen struts were installed after Leo III (Figure 13.3, middle right, or Figure 13.4, right), and those without were installed by Leo III (Figure 13.3, top right, or Figure 13.4, left).[14] Queen struts are the pair of vertical members that bind a truss together. Like Panvinio, Rondelet assumed the restoration Leo III was more significant than it probably was. Rondelet provided no rationale for his attribution, which must have stemmed from Panvinio, for the sixteenth-century scholar was one of the most valued sources available to him. By combining several misconceptions, Rondelet initiated a line of inaccuracies that continued to misinform scholarship on San Paolo and, in turn, to taint the greater field of medieval building history.

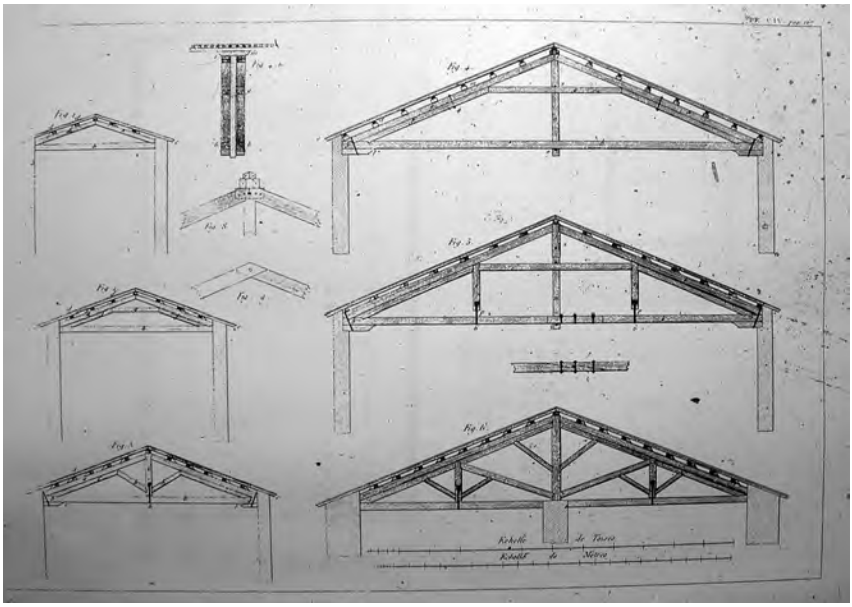


Figure 13.3 Jean Baptiste Rondelet, Roman trusses, lithograph.

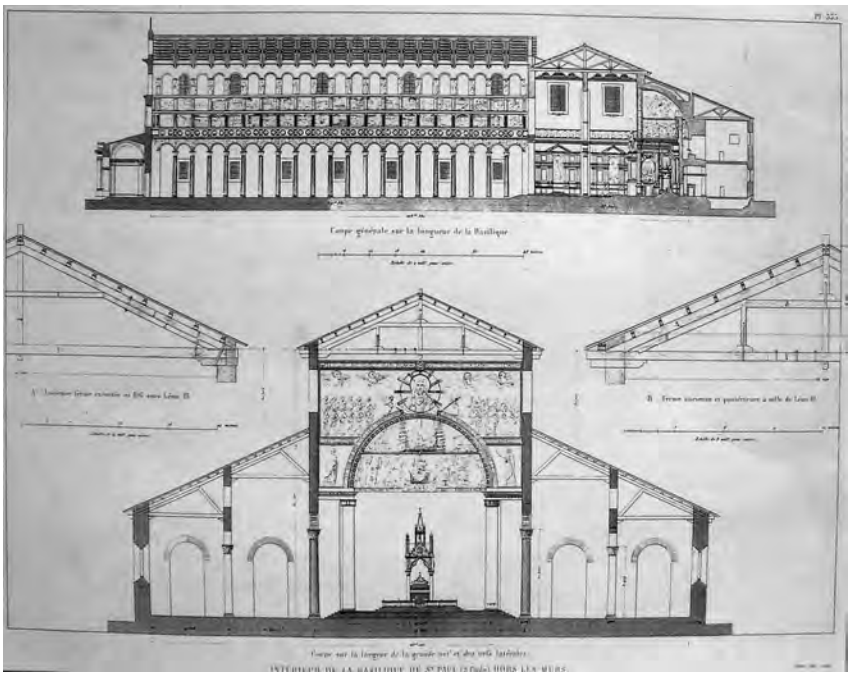


Figure 13.4 Paul Marie Letarouilly, *Intérieur de la Basilique de St Paul (S. Paolo) Hors les Murs*, lithograph.

In the middle of the nineteenth century, Paul Marie Letarouilly published *Édifices de Rome moderne* (1849–1866), a work that included several references to the trusses and the overall roofing scheme at San Paolo. Letarouilly admitted to being greatly dependent on secondary sources, particularly for his treatment of San Paolo. Although he was in Rome when the building burned, he had not surveyed it for his publication.[15] As a result, his plates of the trusses (Figures 13.4–13.5) were based on Rondelet. Following him Letarouilly dated one type of truss to the papacy of Leo III and the other to a period after Leo III.[16] After the 1823 fire, Rondelet's inaccuracies—revived and popularized by Letarouilly—have remained relatively impervious to challenges.

Assuming Rondelet and Letarouilly to be reliable, more recent scholars have devised their own observations. For example, in his survey of pre-modern building techniques, Robert Mark refers to Rondelet's "truss of Leo III" at San Paolo as one of the earliest documented examples of truss construction.[17] As recently as 2003, Simona Valeriani, a historian of construction techniques, asserted that Letarouilly had surveyed San Paolo and then repeated his assumption that the basilica preserved trusses from the time of Leo III.[18] Although Valeriani recognized that the dating was Letarouilly's opinion (in reality an echo of Rondelet's assumption), the fact is that *any* date proposed for those trusses is unfounded.

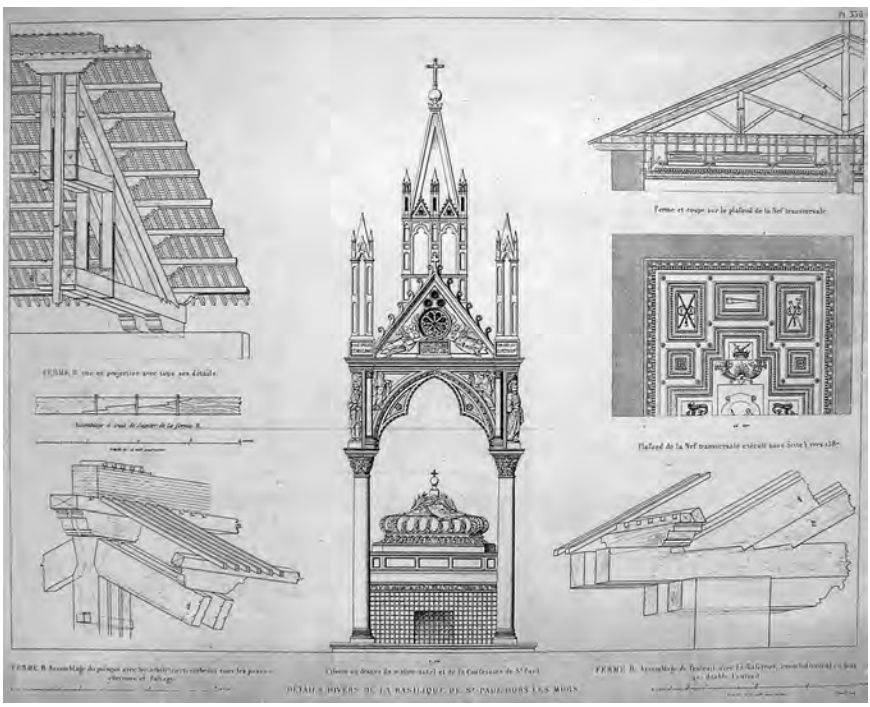


Figure 13.5 Paul Marie Letarouilly, *Détails divers de la Basilique de St Paul*, lithograph.

At the same time, Valeriani has shed significant light on medieval and early Renaissance roofing practices in Rome, and numerous restorations at San Paolo reinforce many of her conclusions.[19] She has observed a general lack of common construction techniques. For example, roofs and even single trusses were composed of different types of wood without any apparent rationale.[20] Additionally, the choice of truss did not change in accordance with the width of the space to be spanned, and a variety of connections between truss and masonry wall were adopted. Extant physical evidence is scarce, and visual sources rarely elucidate the nature of the many restorations known from written accounts.[21] Thus comparison with other Roman structures will be of limited assistance in my analysis of the roof restorations.

Roof Restorations at San Paolo

Following the patronage of Leo the Great, the most detailed evidence concerning a restoration of the basilica's roof dates to the eve of the seventh century. In a letter to Arechi, Longobard Duke of Benevento, Pope Gregory the Great (590–604) requested assistance to ensure that timber cut for the roofs of both St. Peter's and San Paolo were transported safely from Calabria to Rome:

> We make it known that, as it has become necessary to roof the churches of Saints Peter and Paul with several beams, we have ordered Sabino, our subdeacon, to fell adequate trees in the area around Bruzi and to bring them to an appropriate location in proximity of the sea. Since in these matters he will need assistance, saluting your glory, we paternally request your charity that you might charge your commissioners to send men and ox in order to assist in the task so that with your collaboration Sabino might complete the task with which we have charged him.[22]

This personal petition highlights the difficulties involved in restoring roofs during the Middle Ages. The challenges posed by the procurement, transportation, and installation of lengthy timbers presented a surprising impetus to diplomacy. Although medieval sources mention neither the cost of beams nor the techniques used for installing them, the importance of having good relationships with forest owners and all parties involved in the transportation of the timber is apparent. Gregory's concerns were echoed centuries later, in 1337, when Pope Benedict XII (1334–1342) wrote to King Robert of Sicily in order to request exemption from tolls for the transportation of timbers destined for St. Peter's.[23]

The progress of Gregory's timber can be followed in the hagiographic evidence. Duke Arechi, it seems, had granted Gregory's requests, for the biography of another Saint Gregory, Bishop of Agrigento, described the timbers in the Tiber River. Although they were on the homestretch, the 10

massive timbers were caught in a literal logjam that blocked commercial exchanges along the river for several days. With the city paralyzed, Pope Gregory summoned his Agrigentine counterpart. After the latter's prayers—in front of a great crowd—the beams unlocked themselves and miraculously moved against the current toward the respective basilicas for which they had been commandeered. Five floated toward Saint Peter's and five toward San Paolo, as was recorded by an inscription that miraculously appeared on one of the beams.[24]

These accounts, in both an epistolary and a hagiographic source, indicate the value placed upon the timber. During their journey from Calabria to Rome they occupied the concerns of a vast spectrum of medieval society, requiring the intercession of a subdeacon, a duke and his ministers, a saint, and a pope. The story resembles the later and more famous one of Abbot Suger's search for adequately sized trees to complete his construction at St. Denis. Timber could transcend its role as mere covering to become symbolically charged.

The next major roof restoration at San Paolo is attributable to Pope Adrian I (772–795).[25] Franz Alto Bauer has offered a cogent analysis of Adrian's papacy, noting his systematic restoration campaign of Roman church roofs before the year 783.[26] Adrian's attention to the Early Christian basilicas of Rome extended the life of the building type into the later Middle Ages. As Pope Gregory the Great had done, Adrian named his trusted *vestararius* (manager) Ianuarius to oversee the restorations at San Paolo and St. Peter's. Between 779 and 780, Adrian replaced 35 lengthy beams (*trabes maiores*) at San Paolo.[27] With the possible exception of the work done under Leo the Great, this was the most comprehensive medieval roof restoration to be documented at the basilica. Pope Adrian also outfitted the basilica with five new marble doorframes, numerous silk and embroidered fabrics, and he restored the decrepit atrium, where animals grazed and long grasses grew.[28]

Pope Adrian's patronage echoes that of Gregory the Great and foreshadows what would become common: the tendency to undertake concurrent repairs to the roofs of San Paolo and St. Peter's. The coincidence might have been driven by the practical expediency of roofing two basilicas at the same time, but it suggests an enduring equivalence of the two basilicas, which, particularly for the later medieval period, is often overlooked in modern scholarship. For example, during the third and fourth decades of the twelfth century it was believed that the altars of both apostolic basilicas were built upon the relics of both Peter and Paul, a belief that abated only in the eighteenth century.[29]

Given the difficulty of procuring and transporting lengthy timber, roof restorations required not only the most well connected and powerful but also the most diverse patrons. Although there was no codified regulation concerning who was responsible for providing San Paolo with an adequate roof, the extant evidence suggests that the task fell to the popes. Time and time again, they proved able to surmount the challenges, occasionally by

outsourcing tasks to patrons who desired the favor of the pope, owed him a debt, or were compelled by charitable motives. Pope Adrian repeatedly enlisted financial and logistical support from Charlemagne in order to secure timbers for his restorations across Rome. Although epistolary documentation of Adrian's requests to Charlemagne specifically named St. Peter's alone, only vaguely alluding to the other major Roman basilicas, a church as prominent as San Paolo requiring such large timbers would have been particularly worthy of Charlemagne's financial support.[30]

A further instance of joint venture occurred when Pope Gregory VII (1073–1085) had William VIII, Duke of Aquitaine, fund an important restoration of San Paolo's roof. William visited Rome between 1072 and 1075, a period that corresponds to the time of his donation.[31] As had become the norm, William's generosity was extended to the roof of St. Peter's as well. Both acts were perhaps motivated by the promise of papal recognition of his children's legitimacy. The pope officially acknowledged the restorations around 1075 when he offered masses in honor of those who donated funds.[32] The final clause of his proclamation suggests that a portion of the expenses was covered by donations from the faithful. Nonetheless, the lion's share of the financial burden was shouldered by William. To be sure, the caliber and prestige of San Paolo attracted the most elite patronage, a veritable who's-who of medieval movers and shakers.

What were the reasons that underlay a roof restoration? Often they were preceded by cataclysms. For example, a lightning strike or an earthquake in 442 seems to have instigated the reconstruction of Leo the Great. Leo III's replacement of roof beams followed the massive earthquake of 30 April 801. Roof beams at San Paolo collapsed, ruining mosaics, columns, and the silver ciborium over St. Paul's tomb. Fire caused by lightning around 1115–1116 was the likely catalyst for another extensive roof repair.[33] Until the last, the transept seems to have remained largely unaltered, but, in response to the damage caused by fire, it was changed radically by the insertion of a transverse wall along its longitudinal axis, effectively splitting the 24.2 m-wide space (Figure 13.6). As a practical measure, this structural solution bypassed the challenge of securing adequate timbers at a time when evidence suggests a dearth of trees.[34] Indeed, during the first half of the twelfth century, many Roman churches underwent transformations that partitioned the vast interiors of antiquity into smaller spaces that were less daunting to span, as occurred at Santa Croce in Gerusalemme, Sant'Adriano, and Santi Quattro Coronati.

In subsequent centuries, the scarcity of adequate timber impelled patrons to spoliate beams from standing buildings to expedite repairs. In response to a severe fire at the Lateran Basilica, Pope Clement V (1305–1314), at the time in Avignon, requested replacement beams from Frederick the Simple, King of Sicily. Presumably not enough beams were available, for two were

requisitioned from San Paolo to be installed at the Lateran.[35] Shortly after this, in 1321, the monastic community of San Paolo requested that the pillaged beams be returned in order to repair the resulting hole. At the time Pope John XXII (1316–1334) was funding the restoration of parts of Saint Peter's, and the abbot of San Paolo wrote the pope suggesting that the time was right to close the hole in his roof.[36] In this instance, the precedent of conducting contemporaneous repairs to the two major apostolic basilicas was not only acknowledged by the monks but also invoked in their favor. Although we lack further evidence to confirm whether the abbot's request was heeded, John XXII proved to be a major patron of San Paolo through his sponsorship of the church's mosaic façade. Presumably, he repaired the roof as well. Perhaps as a result of the friction caused by the spoliation of San Paolo, in May 1337 Benedict XII prohibited beams from one basilica from being used in another.[37]

Between 1403 and 1409, while the papacy was absent from Rome, a group of prominent Romans contributed to the restoration of the roof of San Paolo. Though this represents a radical shift of patronage, private support was by no means unique during the period, as evidenced by an equally extensive number of patrons who sponsored repairs at the adjacent monastery, for which donations were recorded with meticulous detail.[38] What is remarkable

Figure 13.6 Antonio Acquaroni, *Veduta interna della Basilica di S. Paolo presa immediatamente dopo il suo incendio*, engraving, 1823.

about these roof restorations is not so much the nature of the patronage as the manner in which it was documented: the names were carved into the beams themselves. In his 1639 study *Le Sacre Grotte Vaticane*, Francesco Maria Torrigio was able to compile a detailed list of the patrons from the inscriptions at San Paolo.[39] In this manner, the beams were akin to indulgence slips raised high in the rafters of the basilica. In later centuries there are occasional instances of similar non-papal patronage at San Paolo, as when the duty fell on pilgrims and locals, or on the monks of the adjoining monastery, who sponsored important roof restorations in 1587 and 1611.

It would seem that the restorations carried out by Roman citizens at the start of the fifteenth century were not sufficient, for a report by Ludovico Barbo described the devastated conditions of the basilica around 1423, shortly before the Jubilee. The basilica's roof was "largely destroyed and uncovered" and the church became a receptacle for rain, snow, hail, and mounds of manure, as well as a refuge for cattle and sheep.[40] According to legend, the breaking point came when an old pilgrim walked in silence toward the wooden statue of St. Paul still preserved in the church today, and suddenly cried out, "Foolish bearded man! Why don't you raise your sword? Don't you see how your church has been reduced to a pitiful ruin? Are you not aware of the negligence of those who should be its keeper? Unleash that sword upon those who abandon your home."[41]

His lamentation for the basilica and his recriminations to Paul were quickly reported to Pope Martin V (1417–1431). On 4 September 1423, the pope offered indulgences to any faithful who made donations for the repairs, and shortly after appointed one of his most promising cardinals, Gabriele Condulmer (the future Pope Eugene IV), to restore the basilica and to reform the adjacent monastic community.[42] While there is no evidence that the restoration included new timbers, the holes in the roof were presumably patched, if we are to judge from the presence of terracotta roof tiles stamped with a column, the family insignia of Martin V Colonna.[43] Although in later centuries the roof would continue to need interventions—there were no fewer than seven further documented restorations (see Table 13.1)—the conditions of disrepair were at their nadir in the early Quattrocento.

The fact that San Paolo was one of the few basilicas to endure largely intact until the nineteenth century suggests that its survival should not be taken for granted and highlights the importance of continuous transformations. Surely San Paolo's survival depended also on chance and on having dodged the more radical transformations that aggressively altered other Roman basilicas, but the roof restorations presented here played an undeniable role in extending the life of the basilica.

Observations on the Open-Timber Roof at San Paolo and across Rome

What can we conclude about medieval roof restorations at San Paolo from these brief case studies? A common concern was the practical necessity of protecting the basilica. Indeed, the fifteenth-century description just cited reminds us of the building's vulnerability. Unlike most ground-level transformations, roof restorations rarely enabled new functions at San Paolo; rather, they secured the continued practice of those functions that had long taken place within the sheltering enclosure. The numerous restorations described in this chapter benefitted the adjoining monastery, ensured the performance of the liturgy, and allowed pilgrimage to continue without interruption.

An open-timber roof survived in San Paolo's nave and aisles until the 1823 fire. In large measure this roofing system was perpetuated by a series of partial restorations that were mindful of—and dependent on—the well-preserved portions of the roof. Of all the restorations, only that of Leo the Great may have been a complete reconstruction. The frequency of partial restorations at San Paolo was favored by several factors: 1) damage was often localized, rather than complete; 2) the roof was comprised of structurally independent trusses that could be replaced individually; and 3) the scarcity and expense of timbers favored minimally invasive restorations. To function properly the partial restorations had to fit with existing portions of the roof. This encouraged a semblance of uniformity in the composite roof that formed over time. The end result was the survival of the open-timber roof type across the centuries. In sum, the building itself provided the impetus for and prescribed the manner of a restoration.

Acknowledgments

Slobodan Ćurčić has been a generous and genial mentor to me. His valuable guidance and support have been unwavering and exemplary, so it is with great pride that I dedicate this chapter to Danny. A shorter version of this chapter was presented at the Medieval Congress (Kalamazoo, 2008) in a panel entitled "Transformations in Italian Art" sponsored by the Italian Art Society and organized by Kirsten Noreen. I am greatly in debt to Justin Walsh and Jessica Maier for their kind suggestions.

Notes

1 It was common in Roman times to span widths of ca. 25 m in wood, examples include the Basilica Ulpia (26 m), Old St. Peter (23 m), the Basilica in Trier (26 m) and the Diribitorium of Agrippa (30.5 m); see R. Mark, *Architectural Technology up*

to the Scientific Revolution (Cambridge, 1993), 186; also R. Meiggs, *Trees and Timber in the Ancient Mediterranean World* (Oxford, 1982), 255.

2 *Peristephanon* 12, trans. H. Thomson, *Prudentius* 2 (Cambridge, MA, 1949).

3 See for instance P. Liverani, "Camerae e coperture delle basiliche paleocristiane," *Mededelingen van het Nederlands Instituut te Rome* 60/61 (2003): 13–27.

4 R. Lanciani, *Wanderings through Ancient Roman Churches* (Boston, MA, 1924), 150.

5 Liverani, "Camerae e coperture." The pertinent passage reads, "et cameram et beati Pauli post ignem divinum renovavit"; see *Le Liber Pontificalis*, ed. L. Duschene (Paris, 1892), 1: 3–29. For a lengthier account of Leo the Great's patronage, see *Fasti Vindobonenses Posteriores*, *MGH AA*, 1: 301. See also L. Sagace, *Historia Romana*, ed. A. Crivellucci (Rome, 1912), 1: 367.

6 Santi Pesarini connected the Leonine restorations with an earthquake rather than a fire by proposing that the *Liber Pontificalis* originally stated: "'post ictum [instead of "ignem"] divinum' nel significato di colpo, percossa, spinta"; see Pesarini's manuscript, Cod.Vat.Lat. 13126, fol. 370. For the complete transcription of Leo's inscription see G. De Rossi, *Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae: septimo saeculo antiquiores* (Rome, 1888), 2: 423.

7 G. Marangoni, *Il Divoto Pellegrino* (Rome, 1749), 247: "Poggiano a perpendicolo due ordini di travi di abete di smisurata grossezza, fatti venire dalla Calabria, uniti e legati insieme con cerchi di ferro, e ciascheduno di un solo pezzo, i quali soli sono 40 ed essendo larga questa nave, come vi ho detto, palmi 118 [26.4 m] e poggiando ciascuno sopra i muri laterali, ed uscendo alquanto fuori de medesimi, vengono ad avere la lunghezza di palmi almeno 120 [26.8 m] in circa."

8 See, for example, *Liber Pontificalis* 1: 375 and 397. These pages refer to San Paolo specifically, but several other buildings also made use of these prized timbers. Marangoni may have based his assumptions on contemporary practices, because the repairs of Clement X (or perhaps Innocent XI) in the 1670s and those of Innocent XIII in 1724 employed Calabrian timber.

9 For instance, in the fifteenth century timber came from Massa Trabarica in the Tuscan Apennines. See F. Cancellieri in a manuscript Cod.Vat.Lat. 9672, fol. 118.

10 The first monograph on San Paolo was N. Nicolai, *Della Basilica di S. Paolo: con piante, e disegni incisi* (Milan, 1815).

11 O. Panvinio, *De praecipuis urbis Romae sanctioribusque basilicis* (Rome, 1570), 72: "Leo iii papa totum tectum ipsius basilicae quod terremotu prod Kal. Maii. Indictionis ix. corruerat, cunctis trabibus restitutis refecit, quod hi versus supra portam maiorem intre ecclesiam mamorea abulis incisi docent"; he goes on to transcribe the inscription. Both the Latin and Italian editions of his study were published after his death. Panvinio's original transcription and comments can be found in Cod.Vat.Lat. 6780, fol. 44v.

12 Cancellieri, Cod.Vat.Lat. 9672, fol. 109; see also H. Grisar, *Analecta Romana, dissertazioni, testi, monumenti dell'arte riguardanti principalmente la storia di Roma e dei papi nel medio evo* (Rome, 1899), 1: 148.

13 For a very concise bibliography see I. Delizia, "Il Traité di J. B. Rondelet tra propositi e fortuna editoriale," *Palladio* 28 (2002): 77.

14 J. Rondelet, *Traité théorique et pratique de l'art de bâtir* (Paris, 1802–1817), 4: article 3, 169, specified, "Cette ferme est une des plus anciennes de la charpente de sapin, qui forme le comble de cette église; c'est une de celles faites en 816, sous le pontificat de Leo III."

15 P. M. Letarouilly, *Édifices de Rome moderne* (Paris, 1868), 681. For Letarouilly's practice of copying from other sources, see M. Morozzo della Rocca, *P.M. Letarouilly: "Les Édifices de Rome moderne" storia critica di un'opera propedeutica alla composizione* (Rome, 1981), 14.

16 Letarouilly's images of San Paolo also depend on Alippi's surveys composed as part of Nicolai's monograph, *Della Basilica*.

17 Mark, *Architectural Technology*, 200 and 205.

18 S. Valeriani, "Historic Carpentry in Rome," in *Proceedings of the First International Congress on Construction History*, ed. S. Huerta (Madrid, 2003), 3: 2028 and 2031.

19 Valeriani's major contribution is a book on the medieval and early Renaissance roof structures in Rome: S. Valeriani, *Capriate Ecclesiae: Contributi di archeologia dell'architettura per la storia delle chiese di Roma* (Petersberg, 2006), in which she again dates the trusses at San Paolo following Rondelet and Letarouilly.

20 Chestnut was the most common wood used in the roofs that have been analyzed by the "Indagini dendrocronologiche in chiese paleocristiane di Roma" project; see H. Brandenburg et al., "Indagini architettoniche e dendrocronologiche sui tetti delle chiese paleocristiane di Roma," *Ecclesiae urbis: atti del congresso internazionale di studi sulle chiese di Roma (IV–X secolo)*, ed. F. Guidobaldi (Vatican City, 2002), 1: 183–212. Although this data relates mostly to the early Renaissance, preliminary results indicate that the most frequently employed woods were chestnut (circa 80 percent), oak (12 percent), and fir (8 percent), as reported by Valeriani, "Historic Carpentry," 2024. In the wake of the 1823 fire, Giuseppe Valadier conducted a survey in which he noted that the roof of the nave was comprised of "Quaranta incavallature doppie; le più antiche di Abete, le più moderne di castagno." His observations may have been based on some earlier documents, for visual sources suggest that most of the beams were burned beyond recognition. The document in the Archivio di Stato di Roma is transcribed in M. Groblewski, *Thron und Altar: der Wiederaufbau der Basilika St. Paul vor den Mauern (1823–1854)* (Freiburg, 2001), 276.

21 Valeriani summarized the latter problem succinctly: "Depictions of roofs present evidence that is not documentary, but symbolic: the idea of the roof is drawn rather than the structure which actually is in place." Valeriani, "Historic Carpentry," 2028.

22 Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum* 4: 19, ed. G. Waitz and L. Bethmann, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores Rerum Langobardicarum et Italicarum* 153; trans. W. Foulke (Philadelphia, 1907; reprinted 1974), 164–5.

23 See M. Cerrati, "Il tetto della Basilica Vaticana rifatto per opera di Benedetto XII," *MélRome* 35 (1915): 88.

24 The inscription reads, "quinque petro summo apostolo, reliqua vero quinque paulo organo scelectissimo esse relicta." Marangoni recreated this miraculous episode in vivid detail: "Erano stati mandati dalla Calabria dieci di questi gran travi di abete per mare, ed essendosi imboccati nel fiume Tevere, questi per divina virtù, in tal maniera si attraversarono fra l'una e l'altra sponda di esso, che per quanto forza, ed industria usata fosse, non si puotero muovere, ne spingere avanti e percio impedivano, che non potesse di la passare alcuna barca; onde la citta di Roma sperimentava una grande penuria di molte merci, e vittuarie, che le si portan dal mare." Marangoni, *Il Divoto Pellegrino*, 249.

25 Between the major restorations of Gregory the Great and Adrian I, three minor ones occurred in rapid succession under Popes Sergius I (687–701), Gregory II (715–731), and Gregory III (731–741). Pope Sergius had beams brought from Calabria to replace those deemed to be oldest and in worst shape. Gregory II's restorations were probably limited to the area above the transept and were in response to damage that had occurred around the altar. The *Liber Pontificalis* of Gregory III specified that five timbers were replaced at San Paolo and that a large portion of the roof in proximity to the apse was repaired in an unspecified manner (perhaps by being outfitted with new tiles). Considering that Gregory III's restorations occurred only a few years after those of his predecessor, it is possible that his work was motivated by damage related to Longobard attacks. For these restorations see Duchesne, ed., *Liber Pontificalis* 1: 375, 397 and 420, respectively.

26 F. A. Bauer, "Il Rinovamento di Roma sotto Adriano I alla luce del Liber Pontificalis. Immagine e realtà," *Mededelingen van het Nederlands Institutt te Rome, Antiquity* 60/61 (2001–2002): 190.

27 *Liber Pontificalis* 1: 506: "[In] basilica vasis electionis beati Pauli apostoli cernens ibidem existentes trabes per prisca tempora vetustas ad modicumque ruituras, fecit sicut superius in basilica beati Petri principis apostolorum, disponens Ianuarium fidelissimum vestararium suum cum multitudinem populi … et mutavit trabes maiores numero XXXV." According to Duchesne, 519, n. 77, Ianuarius was *vestararius* at some time between 772 and 785. The practice of appointing junior church officials to such restorations for earlier periods was noted and discussed in B. Ward-Perkins, *From Classical Antiquity to the Middle Ages: Urban Public Building in Northern and Central Italy, 300–850* (Oxford, 1984), 66.

28 See *Liber Pontificalis* 1: 499ff.

29 See E. Kirschbaum, *The Tombs of St Peter & St Paul* (New York, 1959).

30 Among the letters from Adrian to Charlemagne, see *MGH, Ep*. 3, Codex Carolinus 78, which is the most likely to relate to San Paolo even if it is dated to 781–786 (well after the dates postulated by Bauer). Other written requests for timbers are included in: *MGH, Ep*. 3, 592–4 and *MGH, Ep*. 3, Codex Carolinus, 67.

31 I. Schuster, *La Basilica e il Monastero di S. Paolo fuori le Mura: note storiche* (Torino, 1934), 79.

32 Schuster cited sources in P. Jaffé, ed., *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum* (Leipzig, 1888), n. 5237; and in P. Kehr, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum: Italia pontificia* (Berlin, 1906), 1: 140, n. 25, and 168, n. 15.

33 R. Krautheimer et al., *Corpus Basilicarum Christianarum Romae, The Early Christian Basilicas of Rome* (Vatican City, 1977), 5: 164. Krautheimer was the first to suggest this cause.

34 A contemporary testament to the difficulty of securing timber at this time is in Abbot Suger's *De Consecratione III*, which recounts construction of the Abbey Church of St. Denis. Mark has suggested that the dearth described by Suger (and perhaps that experienced in Rome?) may have been the result of the "great clearings and expansion of arable land in the twelfth century"; Mark, *Architectural Technology*, 187. The dearth of construction-grade timber deserves further attention.

35 See C. Rasponi, *De Basilica et patriarchio lateranensi* (Rome, 1656), 1: 30.

36 The correspondence relating to this incident is held in Rome's Biblioteca Angelica, Codex 514, 6, fols. 81–86, 92v–100 (formerly known as Codex D.8, 17). The original request is published by G. F. Gamurrini, "Documenti dell'Angelica," *ASRSP* 10 (1887). See, also, Schuster, *La Basilica*, 151.

37 In this case, the beams of the Lateran and the Vatican were specifically designated as non-exchangeable; see Cerrati, "Il Tetto della Basilica," 88, n. 4.

38 Galletti, Cod.Vat.Lat.7930, fols. 130r–135v.

39 F. Torrigio, *Le Sacre Grotte Vaticane* (Viterbo, 1618), 422. See also Marangoni, *Il Divoto Pellegrino*, 248. A sampling of the inscriptions include the following: "Questa caballatura lo Maistro … Sagallo fecei fare pro anima patris, matris, frater, uxor anno 1404." "Questa caballatura à fatta fare Bufalo … per l'anima sua e sua spesa de Rione de Trastevere." "In questa caballatura l'esecutori di Meo Sperino dello rione de Monti aco pagati per l'anima sua xiii." "Lo magisterio de questa cavallatura aco pagato uomini, e donne dello rione de ponte anno domini 1404." "Ai 13 decembris 1404 Paolo de Cecco d'Alessio de Cintiis del Rione della Regola du con tre altri nobili Romani deputato fra i quattro anteposti allo restauro de questa basilica."

40 The original Latin, "Pro maiore parte diruto et discooperto," is found in L. Barbo, "De Init. et progress. Congreg. S. Iustinae," in *Thesaurus Anecdotorum Novissimus* 2, part 3, fol. 302. For other sources that report the basilica's condition at the turn of the fifteenth century, see B. Trifone, "Le Carte del Monastero di San Paolo dal Secolo XI al XV," *ASRSP* 32 (1909): 45–6.

41 Schuster, *La Basilica*, 185; The admonishment was recounted by Marangoni, *Il Divoto Pellegrino*, 224–5: "Sciocco barbone che tu sei! perchè mai sollevi in alto la spada? Non vedi dunque come la tua chiesa sia ridotta ad una vergognosa rovina? Non t'accorgi tu della negligenza di chi pur vi dovrebbe provvedere? Abassa un po' quella spada e percuoti coloro che trascurano la casa tua."

42 Trifone, *Le Carte*, 45.

43 Nicolai, *Della Basilica*, 41. In addition to tiles from the time of Martin V, there are others from the papacies of Alexander VII (1655–1667) and Clement X (1670–1676).

14

The Edifices of the New Justinian: Catherine the Great Regaining Byzantium

Asen Kirin

In the late eighteenth century Russians had come to see themselves as the successors and guardians of both Byzantine and ancient Greek heritage. Their religious and cultural links with medieval Constantinople acquired a new classical dimension during the Enlightenment. Omnipresent in Russian culture of that time, this vision manifested itself in art and architecture, even in works seemingly lacking any overt references to Byzantium. A neo-Byzantine architectural idiom developed in neoclassical Russia with the active involvement of Catherine the Great (1762–1796), embodying her notion of Byzantium's cultural mission to preserve Greek antiquity and to deliver it to the learned world.

In 1794, late in her long reign, Catherine had her likeness rendered by the renowned Russian portraitist Vladimir Borovikovskii (1757–1825) (Figure 14.1). This painting provides a rather understated summation of the empress's rule by showing her during a walk through a park accompanied only by her little dog. She wears a simple dress for this is not a courtly ceremony but a philosopher's solitary perambulation. The ruler of a mighty empire appears surrounded not by palatial grandeur, but by the greenery of her beloved landscape garden. Because of its English origin and the allusions to constitutional monarchy, a picturesque garden provided the most suitable ambiance for the depiction of an enlightened ruler.

Apart from asserting Catherine's embrace of the Enlightenment, this painting also expressed her aspiration to restore the empire of Constantinople: her vision of the eastern Roman metropolis is subtly present in this otherwise simple composition. We see Catherine walking on the north bank of Tsarskoe Selo's Great Pond. Although facing the viewer, the empress is pointing behind herself to the rostral column she had erected on a manmade island to celebrate her fleet's victory over the Ottoman navy in 1770.

Figure 14.1 Vladimir Lukich Borovokovskii, *Catherine the Great Walking in the Park at Tsarskoe Selo*, oil on canvas, 94 x 66 cm, Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow.

Antonio Rinaldi (1710–1794) had designed and built the column in 1771, one year after the famous Chesme Battle, which took place in the Aegean Sea. During this naval combat, against all odds, a Russian convoy sailing through the Greek Archipelago under the command of Count Aleksei Orlov (1737–1808) succeeded in destroying the entire Ottoman fleet. The combat began on 24 June, the day the Orthodox Church celebrates the Birth of St. John the Baptist.[1] The supernatural intervention of the Precursor seemed apparent to the Russians who, by all accounts, had no expectations of victory. For Catherine and her advisors this naval expedition had the tactical goal of giving the impression that Constantinople faced a threat from the sea in order to distract and split the main Ottoman army menacing Russia's southern border. In the same vein, diversion was the purpose of another mission that Count Orlov fulfilled, to incite rebellion among Eastern Orthodox Christians in the Peloponnese. The Greeks in Morea rose, but the entire endeavor turned into an unequivocal disaster. Popularly know as "Orlofiká" ("The Orlov Events") these bloody occurrences emerged as an antecedent of the Greek War for Independence in 1821.[2]

Catherine's First Turkish War (1768–1774) dragged on for six years before the peace treaty with the Ottoman Empire was signed in 1774 near the village of Kiuchuk-Kainardzhi. According to this agreement Russia gained direct access to the Black Sea and safe passage through the Bosporus and the Dardanelles to the ports of the Mediterranean. The Turks guaranteed permanent protection of the Christian religion and its churches throughout the Ottoman Empire. In the context of this war the founding principles of the empress's Greek Project emerged—a colossal, if not outright chimerical, program for a new political, diplomatic, and military order in Europe and the Eastern Mediterranean. Catherine sought to restore an Eastern Orthodox ruler to the throne of Constantinople, a goal that justified Russian expansion into Ottoman lands and was intended to benefit Eastern Orthodox Christians who were subjects of the sultan.[3]

In Russia the enthusiastic response to the war fueled an outburst of ideological creativity that left lasting marks on the country's political thought, literature, art, and architecture. Andrei Zorin reflects on the political ideology and the poetry of Catherine's rule in a book chapter titled "The Russians as Greeks." At the start of the 1780s, according to Zorin, "Russia's dream of conquering Constantinople was firmly yoked to an ancient Greek chariot."[4]

In Catherine's portrait, Borovikovkii created a focal point by placing the Chesme Column and the empress's gesture against the greenery on the opposite bank of the pond. The actual view that opened there was omitted. What was south of the column was common knowledge at the time—since the 1780s the vista extended to an entire ideal city, nothing less than a neoclassical recreation of Constantinople. This was the city of Sofia, which featured regularly laid avenues equipped with streetlights, a place for worship, post

office, residences, and business establishments (Figure 14.2). Even though the space in the background of Catherine's portrait shows the site, Borovikovkii chose to depict not the actual city of Sofia, but only the empress with her knowing smile and the Chesme Column behind her. While not exactly an understatement, the iconography is hardly a overbearing display of power. Rather, this is an invitation to solve a visual riddle—to acknowledge what is missing from the picture, calling to mind the actual view in order to ponder its meaning.[5]

In the city center stood the church of St. Sophia, completed in 1787 to mark the 25th anniversary of Catherine's ascent to the throne. This was a version of the sixth-century Constantinopolitan cathedral of Hagia Sophia. The architect was Charles Cameron (1743–1812), a Scot who first achieved fame after publishing his study of ancient Roman baths. Cameron did not repeat the design of Hagia Sophia but instead created a church befitting the surrounding neoclassical city.[6] The empress saw this complex as the embodiment of her new, enlightened state. The ideological and political messages of this architectural ensemble become clearer when we consider its topography. Facing south from Tsarskoe Selo, one would be reminded that the view leads toward the distant southern seas—the waters of the ancient world and the Byzantine Empire. The vista across the pond thus offered a lasting apparition in which the past, present, and future of Constantinople and Russia merged. This arrangement celebrated Russia's territorial expansion, intended to culminate in the conquest of Constantinople. This was an assertion of cultural identity linked with intellectual ancestry: through Byzantium, Russia had received the torch of ancient learning.

In the literature and the political rhetoric of Catherine's reign, the empress was praised as the Northern Minerva or the New Justinian.[7] These labels expressed the magnitude of a goddess or a status so exalted it simply transcended gender ("the empress as a great man").[8] Both epithets emphasized warrior virtues and wisdom. Athena/Minerva, the virgin-warrior goddess of wisdom, is the obvious archetype for an unwed female figure invested with immense authority. The choice of Justinian, although not surprising, calls for explanation. Through their Orthodox faith, all Russian tsars and emperors saw themselves as successors to the rulers of Constantinople. In a departure from this time-honored notion, Catherine sought to cultivate additional associations. Like Catherine, Justinian I (527–565) sought to restore the Roman Empire to its former glory. The empress's attempt to reform Russian legislation resonated with Justinian's codification of Roman law. Justinian's rule also witnessed dazzling architectural creations, which the empress emulated both in general spirit and in specific terms. In the midst of her colossal building campaigns, she erected versions of famous Constantinopolitan edifices associated with Justinian, including Hagia Sophia and the suburban palace of

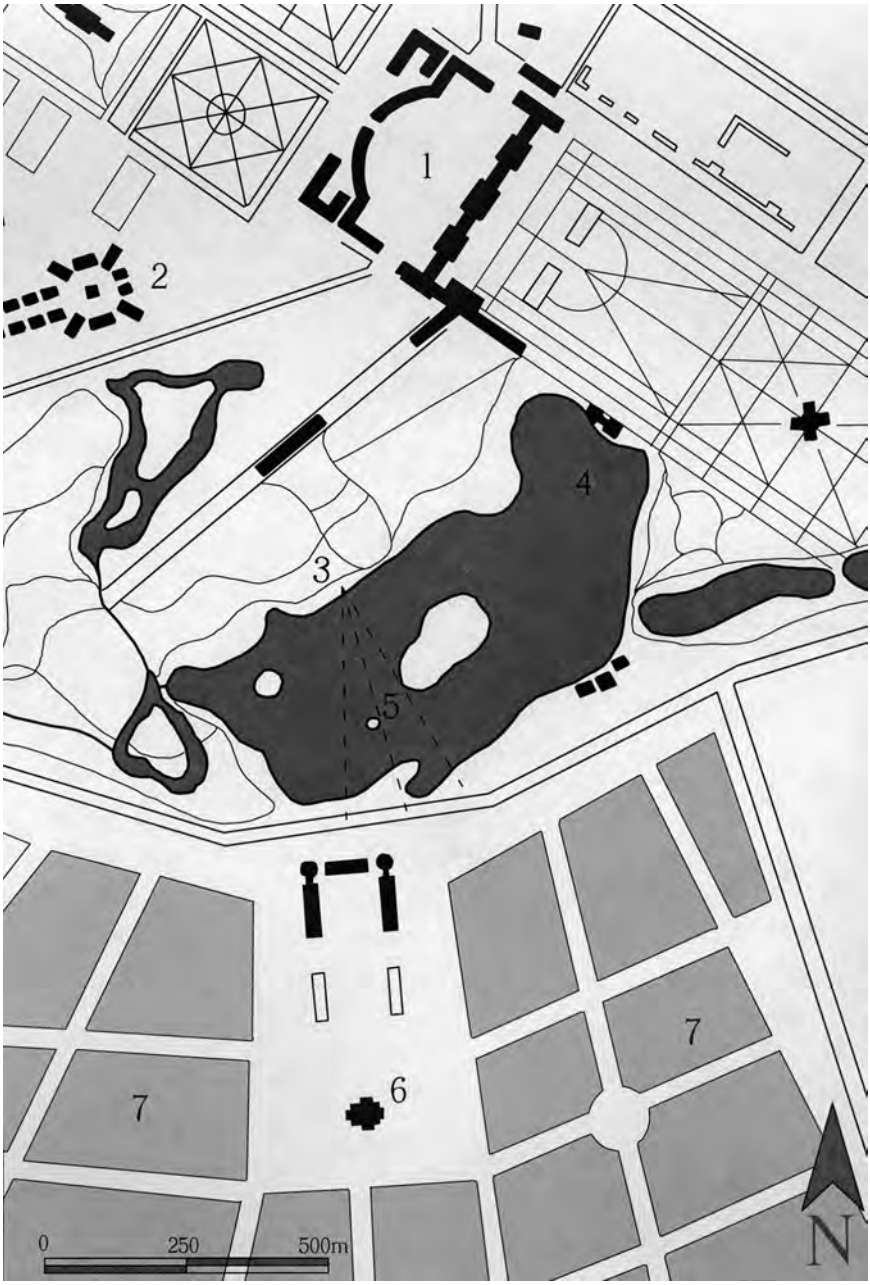


Figure 14.2 Tsarkoe Selo, grounds, including the Great Pond, Chesme Column, and the city of Sofia with the cathedral of St. Sophia (drawing by Ashley M. Crosby).

Hebdomon, whose church, dedicated to St. John the Baptist, once contained the relic of the head of the Precursor.

Catherine's version of Hagia Sophia is well known, yet the existence of a copy of Hebdomon has gone unnoticed. The fate of the original monuments has a great deal to do with this. Hagia Sophia still stands, while Hebdomon has been largely forgotten since its destruction sometime before 1260. Beyond the literary record, the lack of evidence presented more of an opportunity than an obstacle for the empress. By reproducing a lost and little-known palace complex, Catherine could demonstrate her knowledge of Byzantine history and her familiarity with Constantinople and its architecture.

The name Hebdomon is derived from the Greek numeral "seven" referring to the number of the closest milestone.[9] Both in Byzantium and Russia there was a palace at the seventh mile on the road connecting the new metropolis with the old imperial capital. Hebdomon stood along the Via Egnatia, which connected Constantinople with Rome, while the road connecting St. Petersburg with Moscow provided the site for the Kekereksinen or Chesme Palace commemorating the Russian naval triumph (Figures 14.3–14.7). Both palace complexes included central-plan churches dedicated to St. John the Baptist. Kekereksinen's role as a triumphal monument to a military victory reflected the same functions that Hebdomon once fulfilled. The Hebdomon complex included a palace, a tribunal, two churches, and extensive military grounds. Located close to the Golden Gate, the Hebdomon was the starting point of imperial triumphal processions.[10]

This combination of military and triumphal functions explains why Hebdomon was a suitable model for Catherine's palace/monument to a naval victory. Hebdomon was the site where new emperors were nominated and where the initial ceremonies preceding the actual coronation took place. The legitimacy of the new ruler was reinforced by the presence of the relic of the head of the Baptist. The figure of St. John the Baptist was of great importance in Byzantine coronations. Since the emperor was Christ's representative on earth, the coronation ceremony included an act of anointing, symbolically re-enacting John's baptism of Christ.[11] Hebdomon's association with imperial coronations opens yet another perspective into its significance in Catherine's building program. The Chesme victory eliminated any doubts regarding the legitimacy of Catherine's rule. It represented the empress's second coronation.

At Kekereksinen Catherine duplicated the most memorable general traits distinguishing Hebdomon—the location, the dedication of the major church on the premises, and the distinctive functions of the palace, as known from the writings of Byzantine historians, among them Ammianus Marcellinus, Procopius of Caesarea, Constantine Porphyrogennetos, and Ioannes Zonaras. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries comments by these authors were collected and analyzed, first by Pierre Gilles (1490–1555) in his discourse on the topography of Constantinople, and subsequently by Du Cange (1610–

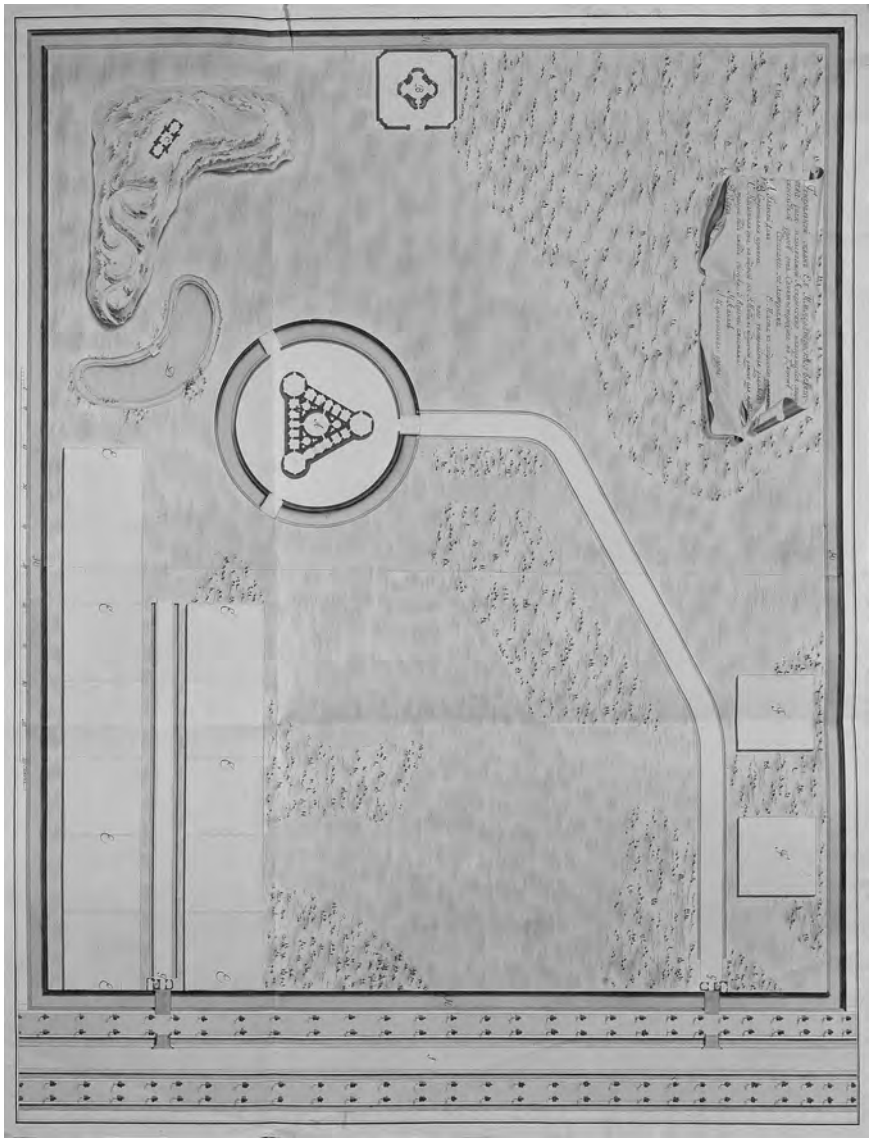


Figure 14.3 Kekereksinen, general plan, pen and ink, watercolor, attributed to Iurii Fel'ten, 1777. Legend: "General plan of Her Imperial Majesty's dacha called Kekereksino located along the road to Tsarskoe Selo at a distance of 7 *versts* from St. Petersburg." A. main house, B. church under construction, C. manmade knoll where a gazebo can be built, D. lake, E. sites for the construction of workhouses, F. sites for the construction of servants' houses, G. gates with [draw-] bridges, H. moat, I. road to Tsarskoe Selo (Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, HTHC 5492).

1688) in the book on the relic of St. John the Baptist's head published in 1665.[12] Catherine and her advisors most likely relied on the works of these two French scholars augmented by the well-known *De aedificiis* (On the buildings) of Procopius (ca. 500–ca. 565).[13] A diligent student of history, Catherine appears to have paid close attention to Procopius's text. She seems to have devised her own architectural creations based on descriptions found in *De aedificiis*.

Catherine's replica of Hebdomon was a small yet elaborate neo-Gothic palace complex built between 1773 and 1780 at the seventh mile (1 verst=1.0668 km) south of St. Petersburg along the Moscow Road (Figure 14.3). Originally this architectural ensemble was called Kekereksinen Palace or Dacha ("Kekereksinkii dvorets" or "Kekereksinskaia dacha"), derived from the Finnish name for the site, "Frog Pond" or "Frog Marsh," which is why the empress called it "La Grenouillère" (place with many frogs). After 1780 the complex was named "Chesme Palace" in honor of the battle.[14]

Throughout the 1770s, Catherine celebrated the victories of the First Turkish War by erecting monuments, installed primarily in and around Tsarskoe Selo and Moscow. While most of them had the customary forms of triumphal columns, obelisks, and arches, there were other types as well. For example, large-scale paintings of 1779 showing episodes of the Chesme Battle were on display in the palace at Peterhof; four were hung in the Throne Room and another 12 in the Chesme Hall.[15] Even against this commemorative exuberance the Kekereksinen/Chesme Palace stands out, for the entire building complex was conceived as a triumphal monument.

The reasons for this choice were never readily apparent, a fact confirmed by an account written to explain the dedication of the palace to the Chesme victory. Possibly dating to Catherine's time, this story claims that in the summer of 1770 the empress was at Kekereksinen when she received the momentous news about Orlov's victory. Whether the account is true or not, Kekereksinen's location yielded itself to symbolic interpretations. During 1774 and 1775, when the palace was already under construction, milestones (*versts*) shaped as marble obelisks on pedistals were placed along the Moscow Road.[16] Thus the association of Kekereksinen with the seventh mile became conspicuous, so accepted that the expression "the one at the seventh mile" seems to have commonly referred to this palace.[17]

The symbolic aspects of actual topography and intentional emblematic spatial arrangements are prominently present in almost all the monuments honoring the Chesme Battle. If not rising from or next to a body of water, columns and obelisks would punctuate a vista encompassing a lake, pond, or river. In general the same applies even to the paintings of naval battles gracing the Chesme Hall and the Throne Room at Peterhof. This latter palace, with all its ornate fountains, sits on the shores of the Gulf of Finland and celebrates Russia's rise as a maritime power under Peter the Great.

The attention to topographic details reached an apex in 1775 during the celebration of the ratification of the Kiuchuk-Kainardzhi Treaty. The extravagant festivities were staged on a plain known as Khodynskoe Field ("Khodynskoe Polye") on the outskirts of Moscow. Three miles north of the city along the St. Petersburg Road, a large complex of temporary buildings was erected for this festive occasion. The actual field, roads, and hills, together with wooden structures and tents, represented the northern shores of the Black Sea and the Crimean Peninsula. This was a recreation of the theater of military engagements and the representation of the newly conquered territories, namely the estuaries of the Don and Dniepr Rivers. Construction of the permanent structure known as Petrovskii Castle rising on top of the hill overlooking Khodynskoe Field began the same year.[18]

Kekereksinen and Petrovskii Castle are road palaces situated on the outskirts of the new and old capital, respectively, along the same highway.[19] Both their exteriors featured Gothic elements and evoked medieval fortified abodes while boasting richly embellished neoclassical interiors. Petrovskii Castle was significantly larger and, until the demise of the Romanovs, it continued to serve its original purpose as a resting stop on the approach to Moscow. Since Russian sovereigns traveled from St. Peterburg to Moscow for the coronation ritual at the Kremlin's Dormition Cathedral, they stayed at Petrovskii Castle before the ceremonial entry into the old capital. The castle itself and the plot of land next to it, Khodynskoe Field, served as the stage set for ceremonies preceding and following the actual coronation. It appears that Petrovskii Castle fulfilled this function six times between 1796, the year Catherine the Great died, and 1896, when the last tsar assumed power.[20] Indeed, this is memorable history for a resting stop along a road. In contrast, Kekereksinen was known as an amusement palace, yet it too had stellar moments of its own.

The designer of Kekereksinen was Iurii Fel'ten (1730–1801), one of Catherine's court architects who subsequently styled the Chesme Hall at Peterhof.[21] In the twilight of his life, only a year before the empress passed away, he left a revealing document about her involvement in building projects. In a petition from 1795 Fel'ten appealed to the empress: "I was fortunate to take part in the construction of numerous monuments to Your Imperial Majesty's reign by executing Your Own designs and I continue to keep a collection of drawings made by Your Majesty's hand."[22]

The majority of these "monuments" to Catherine's reign were her commissions, yet the choice of words is deliberate, revealing how Fel'ten's collaboration with his sovereign involved both conceptual issues and specific formal aspects of design, visualized in drawings. The empress worked very closely with her architects. Sadly, Catherine's drawings have vanished, and one is left to wonder what they showed and which projects they represented. While we will never know the empress's instructions to Fel'ten about Kekereksinen, we can be certain that she poured her creative energy into this

palace. Catherine must have selected the site and chosen the dedication of the church on the premises. The construction work would not have proceeded without her approval.[23] There is ample evidence that she was instrumental in the development of the palace's interior program, ranging from the display of royal portraits to the Wedgwood Green Frog dinner service (Figure 14.8).[24] In a palace whose design mattered so much, even the dinnerware bespoke the significance and the meaning of its architecture.

For Kekereksinen, Fel'ten designed a two-storied palace with a plan of an equilateral triangle measuring approximately 49 m along each arm. One of the triangle's points faces directly south, while the others toward northeast and northwest, each marked by a round stair tower; the main entrance was in the building's west wing. On both stories a rotunda, with an approximate diameter of 15 m, occupies the core (Figures 14.4–14.5). Dedicated to the Birth of St. John the Baptist and rising to the southeast of the palace, the church was designed as a quatrefoil. Along its major axes the interior spans just over 21 m; each of the four conches is nearly 8.5 m wide. The main dome soars above four symmetrically placed secondary domes (Figures 14.6–14.7). As is the case with Petrovskii Castle, neo-Gothic exteriors are combined with neoclassical interiors. This combination characterizes both the palace building and the church.[25]

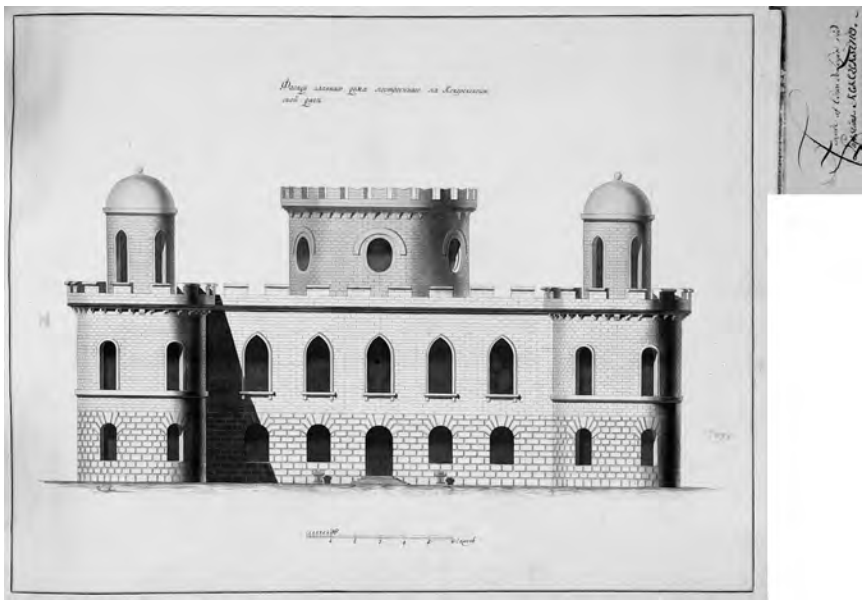


Figure 14.4 Kekereksinen Palace, elevation, pen and ink, watercolor, attributed to Iurii Fel'ten. Legend: "Façade of the main house built at the Kekereksinen Dacha" (Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, HTHC 5498). The scale bar here and in following drawings is in the old Russian measuring unit *sazhen* (1 *sazhen* = 2.1336 m).

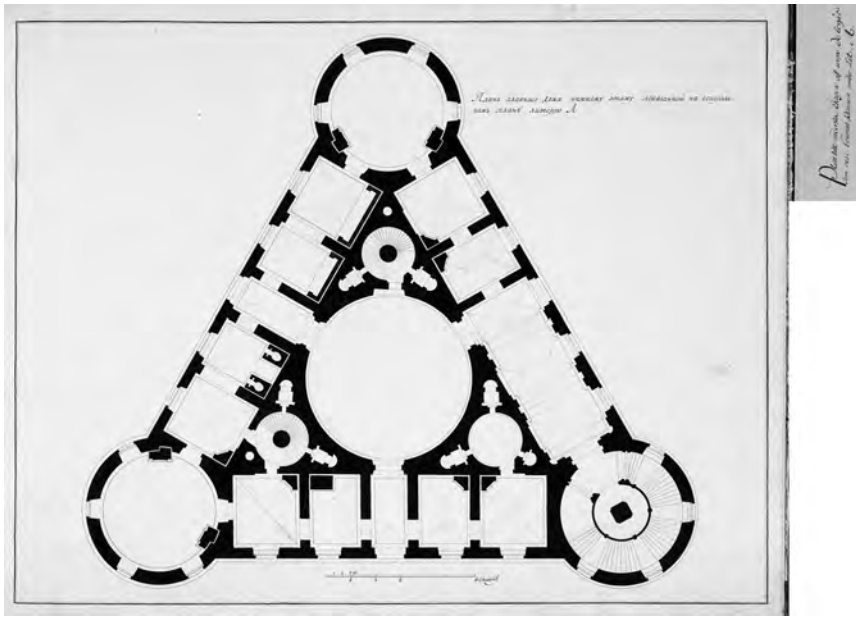


Figure 14.5 Kekereksinen Palace, ground plan of the first floor, pen and ink, watercolor, attributed to Iurii Fel'ten. Legend: "[ground] plan of the main house's lower story shown on the general plan under the letter 'A'" (Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, HTHC 5496).

Due to the multiple losses and alterations at Kekereksinen, one must rely on eighteenth-century sources to determine the complex's general layout and original design. Moats formerly surrounded the entire complex, allowing only two points of entry from the Moscow Road, each entrance equipped with a gatehouse and drawbridge, now lost. Other buildings may never been built: a pavilion embellished with crenellations was to stand on an artificial mount to the northeast of the palace; a set of service buildings was to appear to the northwest. The palace and the church still stand. The most substantial change to the palace building was the addition in the 1830s of three large two-story wings attached to the stair towers.[26] The church has survived mostly unaltered, although it has lost some of its original liturgical furnishings.

The creators of Kekereksinen appear to have deliberately based the design of the church on the descriptions of Hebdomon, notably that of Procopius, who establishes that Justinian had a church built and dedicated to St. John the Baptist. Procopius speaks of the splendor of the building and richness of its adornment, emphasizing its soaring dome and the lofty circular stoa surrounding it.[27] While vague, the description matches actual, contemporary structures, such as the Church of the Intercession of the Virgin at Fili (1690–

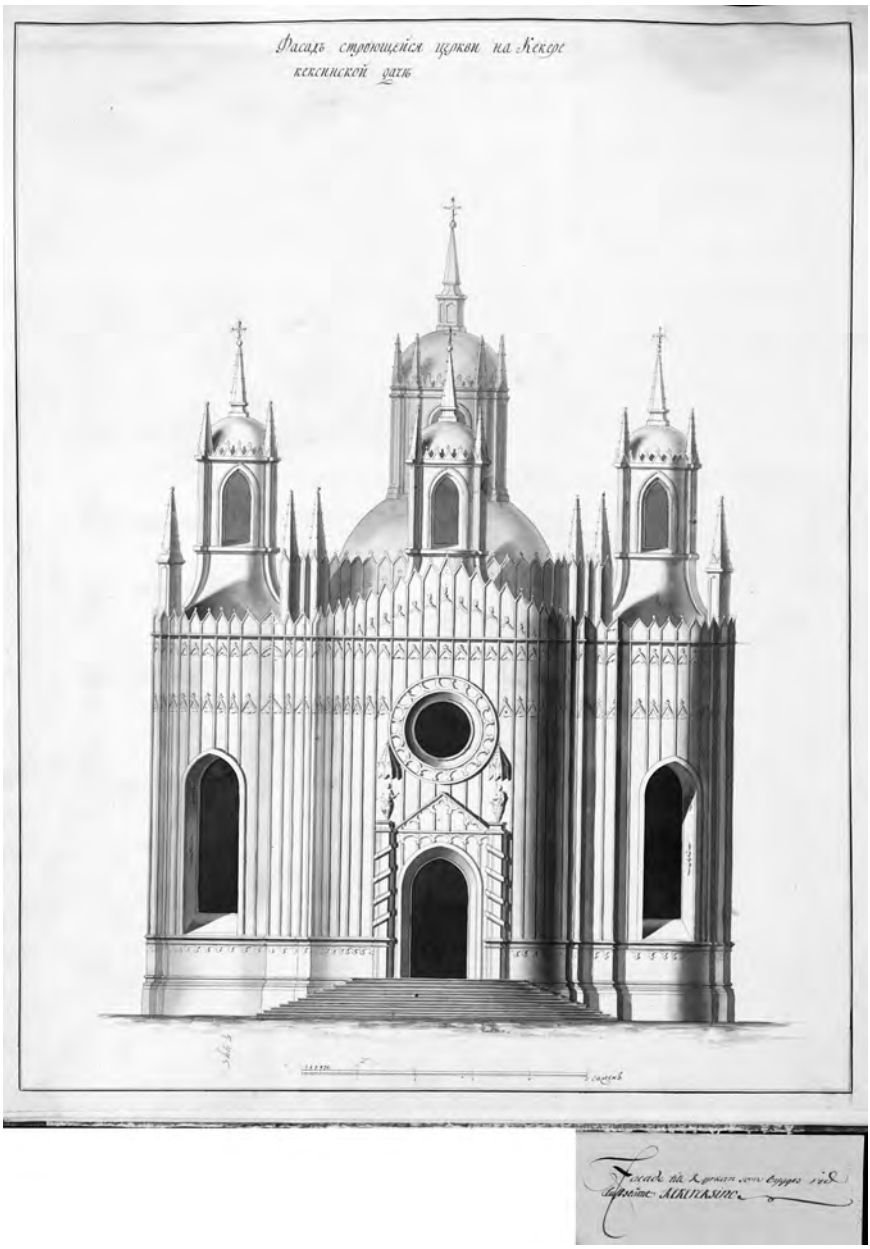


Figure 14.6 Kekereksinen, church dedicated to the Birth of St. John the Baptist, west façade, pen and ink, watercolor, attributed to Iurii Fel'ten. Legend: "Façade of the church, now under construction, at the Kekereksinen Dacha" (Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, HTHC 5495).

1693) and the Church of the Virgin of the Sign ("Znamenie") in Dubrovitsy (1690–1704). Both of these churches could have provided relevant models because of their relations to the circle of Peter the Great (1672–1725): one was built by his uncle, Prince Lev Kirillovich Naryshkin (1668–1705), the other by his tutor, Prince Boris Alekseevich Golitsyn (1654–1714).[28] Catherine seized every opportunity to associate herself with Russia's great reformer.

When creating the Kekereksinen church, Fel'ten kept the symmetrical arrangement of the four apses, but he replaced the tower-like component with the more archaic configuration of a central dome surrounded by smaller, secondary ones. As a result, the Chesme church displayed a five-dome arrangement popular in mid-eighteenth-century designs in St. Petersburg, as well as in the cathedrals of medieval Russia derived from Byzantine sources.

Since the replica of Hebdomon was to convey the notion of continuity between Byzantium and Russia, the design of Kekereksinen included features readily recognizable as belonging to the national medieval tradition. The Chesme palace, pavilion, and gatehouses with battlements and towers alluded to the fortifications of the Moscow Kremlin. Even the neo-Gothic elements of Kekereksinen related to the defensive wall of the old capital: during a reconstruction in 1685 one of the Kremlin's gate towers, the Tower of the Savior, acquired conspicuous white stone embellishments in this style.[29] Fel'ten was so successful in creating an Old Russian look for Kekereksinen that his exterior articulation of the Chesme church served as a model for the rebuilding of the Moscow Kremlin's Tower of St. Nicholas after Napoleon's invasion of 1812.[30] In sum, while diverse sources informed the design of the Kekereksinen church, there was an important underlying connection with Hebdomon through Procopius's description.

As the Hebdomon was known only from vague descriptions, the actual model for the Kekereksinin palace was an English Renaissance structure, Longford Castle in Wiltshire. An image of Longford Castle is included conspicuously in the Green Frog service—it graces a 14-inch round dish cover.[31] Catherine and Fel'ten could have seen Longford Castle in Volume 4 of *Vitruvius Britannicus*. From the captions to the prints of this building they could have learned that in the text of his *New Arcadia*, Sir Philip Sidney referred to Longford Castle as Amphialus, the birthplace of the eponymous protagonist (Figures 14.8–14.10).[32] Whether or not the empress was familiar with the text of the *New Arcadia* remains unclear.[33] Nevertheless, it seems unlikely that she would have failed to realize what an opportunity this connection stated in *Vitruvius Britannicus* would present: an actual English historic building, associated with a major work of English literature telling a story set in Ancient Greece and featuring a building that supposedly existed in ancient Arcadia. Basing the design of the palace on an English model further emphasized the overall message that the decoration of the dinner set conveyed: this was Catherine's gesture of gratitude recognizing the pivotal

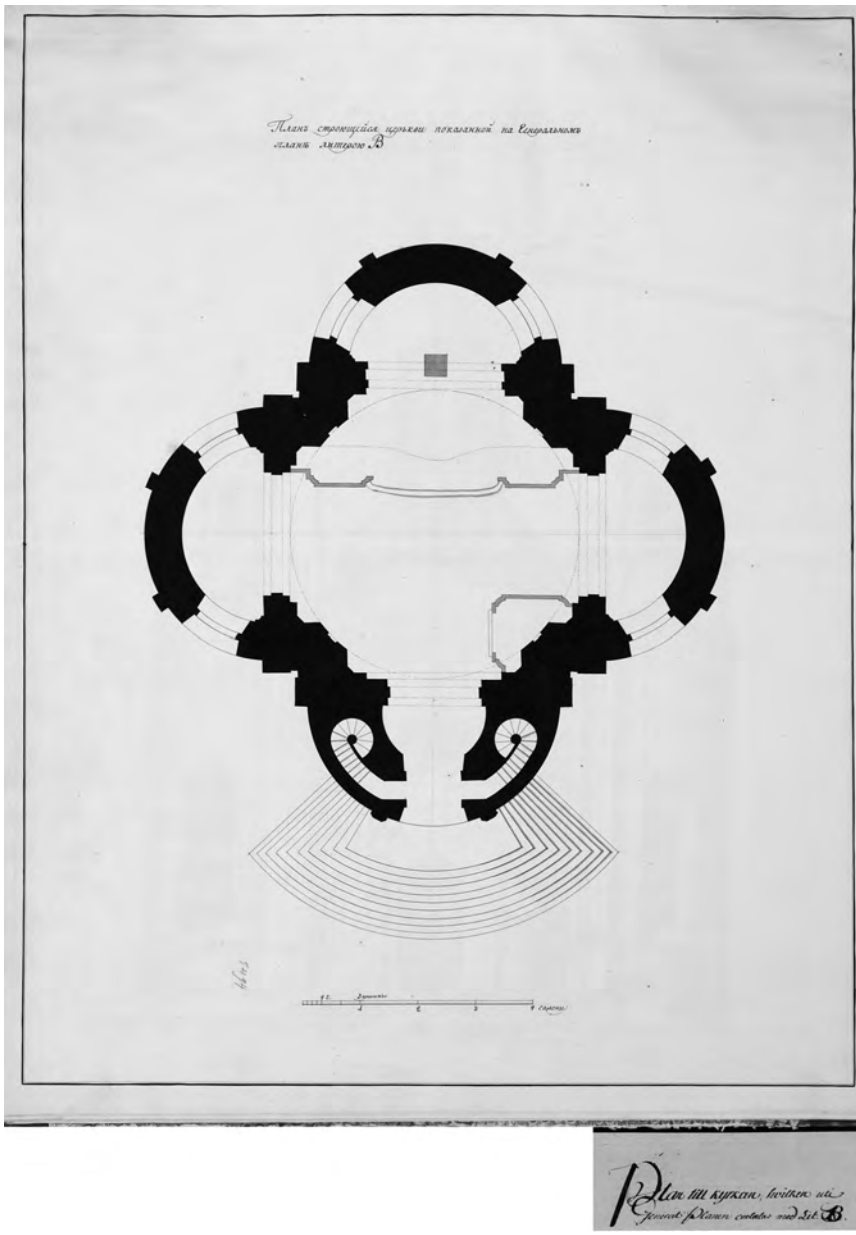


Figure 14.7 Kekereksinen, Church dedicated to the Birth of St. John the Baptist, Ground Plan, pen and ink, watercolor, attributed to Iurii Fel'ten. Legend: "[ground] plan of the church, now under construction, shown on the general plan under the letter 'B'" (Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, HTHC 5494).

role England had played in securing the Russian victory at Chesme.[34] The Green Frog service, featuring dozens of Gothic buildings both "old" and "modern," and the neo-Gothic architecture of Kekereksinen both emphasized all that England and Russia shared, in addition to a Gothic-style architectural inheritance and a fascination with ancient Greece. They shared a common victory over the Ottoman Empire. The empress saw the victory at Chesme as a triumph of good government over tyranny—with the constitutional monarchy of England and Catherine's enlightened rule defeating Ottoman absolutism.

A set of eight drawings is attributed to Fel'ten, dated to 1777 when Kekereksinen was still under construction (Figures 14.3–14.7). The first shows a general site plan with all the buildings forming the complex, whether finished, under construction, or yet to be begun. Other drawings represent individual buildings in ground plan and elevation. The legend on the general plan and the captions on the others use the same nomenclature, so there can be no doubt that all were created with the intention of having them viewed together. Since every building shown on the general plan has a corresponding detailed rendition, it seems likely that the set has been preserved in its entirety. The drawings belong to the National Museum of Stockholm, most probably brought to Sweden by King Gustav III (1771–1792) after his visit to Russia in the summer of 1777. On the second day of his visit to St. Petersburg, he attended the ceremony for laying the foundations of the church at Kekereksinen.[35]

Three years later, in 1780, Kekereksinen once again became the stage set for a similar exalted diplomatic play, this time at the consecration of the Chesme church. As before, after the religious ceremony, a banquet took place at which the Green Frog service was used. This time the guest was Joseph II, the Holy Roman Emperor (1765–1790). Catherine had a marble plaque engraved and attached to the exterior wall of the church:

> This temple was erected in the name of the Holy Prophet Forerunner and Baptist of Our Lord John in memory of the victory over the Turkish fleet at Chesme in 1770 on the day of his birth. The foundation was placed in the 15th year of reign of Catherine II in the presence of King Gustav III of Sweden [visiting] under the name of Count Gotland and consecrated on June 24, 1780, in the presence of Holy Roman Emperor Joseph II [visiting] under the name of Count [von] Falkenstein.[36]

Kekereksinen provided a suitable space for the entertainment of crowned heads since it resembled medieval castles with lancet windows, towers, turrets, and battlements. The neo-Gothic design evoked the notion of chivalry and noble ancestry while endorsing aristocratic ideals and hereditary rule[37]—all of which were to assert the legitimacy of the empress. More importantly, the participation of Gustav III and Joseph II in the commemoration of Chesme reflected that in the course of the 1770s the maritime triumph had emerged as

Figure 14.8 Green Frog dinner service, round dish cover; original legend for the image reads "Vue du Château de Longford, résidence du Comte de Randor" (St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum, Inv. No. 8459).

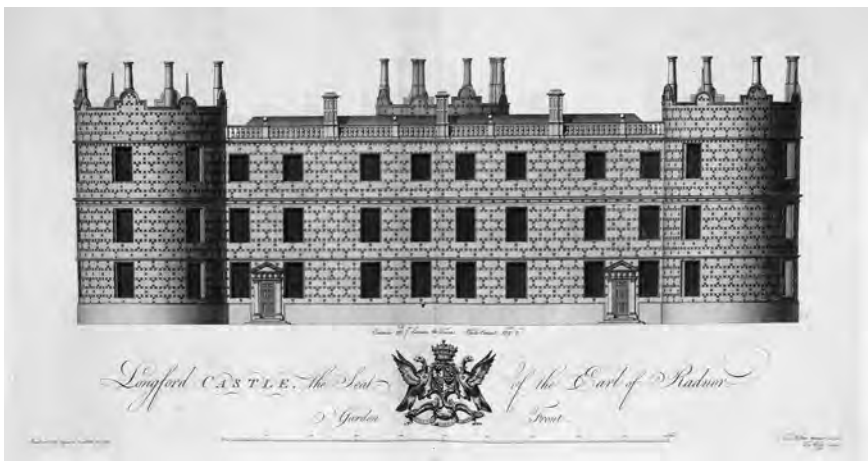


Figure 14.9 Longford Castle, façade, from *Vitruvius Britannicus* 4, by J. Woolfe and J. Gandon (London 1767–1771).

one of the founding blocks of Catherine's Greek Project. The dedication of the church to St. John the Baptist at Kekereksinen emphatically affirmed the link with both Chesme and Hebdomon, thus making the palace on the Moscow Road an embodiment of the essential goals of the empress's rule, namely, the transformation of Russia into the enlightened successor of the Eastern Roman Empire, embracing and perpetuating both its medieval Eastern Orthodox tradition and its Greek heritage.

Receiving royal guests from the West on grounds recreating an imperial Constantinopolitan monument was a gesture declaring the continuity between the old and the new "Eastern Empire." This was also an invitation to Sweden and to the Western Holy Roman Empire to join forces in pursuing common goals. The festivities at Kekereksinen amounted to symbolic induction into the new political order envisioned by the empress. On a grander scale, a related scenario would be enacted in 1787 during the famous "Journey to Byzantium" in which the court of St. Petersburg, European crowned heads, and the diplomatic corps traveled with Catherine to Crimea to visit the newly conquered territories along Russia's southern sea.

Kekereksinen emerges as one of the early attempts to recreate a Byzantine—and in particular a Constantinopolitan—idiom in the architecture of post-Petrovian Russia. Shvidkovsky has discussed this phenomenon, citing archival documents that record the dispatch of a special ship to make document an existing "pavilion" on the Bosphorus in order to create a faithful copy of it.[38] It is significant that as early as 1771 Iurii Fel'ten had already built a ruined "Turkish Tower" in Tsarskoe Selo in celebration of Russia's victories in the First Turkish War.[39] A year or two later he was working on the design of the palace building for Kekereksinen. One is tempted to see a vague resemblance between this palace's round towers embellished with battlements and machicolations and the two fortresses built by Mehmed II (1444–1446, 1451–1481) at Rumeli Hisar (1451–1452) and Yedikule (1457–1458).[40]

Ignoring the distinctions between Byzantine and Ottoman monuments, Catherine's new architectural idiom evoked Constantinople using the Gothic, a style of architecture readily identifiable as "medieval." During the neoclassical era Gothic was perceived as the opposite of the antique, yet the design of Kekereksinen does not distinguish between the two styles; on the contrary, it deliberately combines them. Since the empress believed that Byzantium carried the tradition of ancient Greek learning she devised a way to express her convictions through buildings whose medieval-looking walls enshrouded spaces *à l'antique*.[41] As with many of Catherine's other building endeavors, Kekereksinen vigorously promoted a new system of cultural references.

The two ensembles that display the most developed version of Catherine's neo-Byzantine idiom are Kekereksinen and Petrovskii Castle. Both are "road palaces" located on the Russian empire's main thoroughfare, the road

connecting St. Petersburg with Moscow. It would appear that the creation of both palaces was inspired and partially informed by knowledge of Hebdomon. Apart from this, Petrovskii Castle relates to a group of country palaces with a medieval aura in the vicinity of Moscow, which according to Shvidkovsky, were intended to form a ring encircling Russia's old capital. While the best known of these is Tsarytsino, the Konkovo Palace designed by Matvei Kazakov makes an explicit reference to the former Byzantine capital by taking the shape of a regular pentagon, flanked by two large circular towers.[42] This arrangement seems to replicate the citadel of Yedikule at Constantinople. As Shvidkovsky has pointed out, all these projects evolved in connection with the celebration of the First Turkish War and the design experiments in the Khodynskoe Field.[43]

With the single extremely cautious remark of M. B. Nashchokina in her detailed study of the Petrovskii Castle,[44] however, scholars have not recognized the intended Byzantine references of this architectural idiom, and the specific connections with Hebdomon have gone unnoticed. In general, this idiom was unusual in its emphasis on reproducing limited architectural details, while recreating the topographical particulars. Moreover, any assessment of this eighteenth-century phenomenon is seen through the prism of nineteenth-century historical styles, most specifically the neo-Byzantine, distinguished by rounded arches and hemispherical domes on pendentives, a style that came

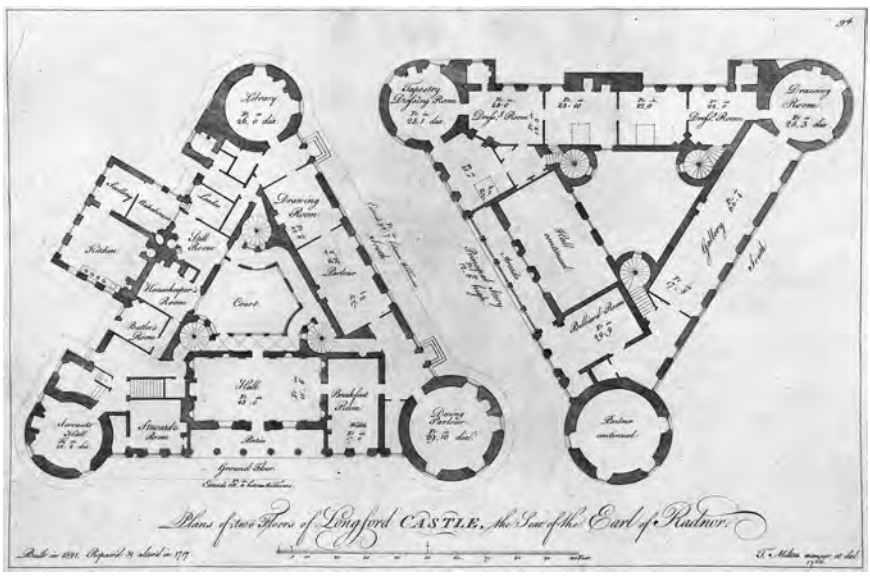


Figure 14.10 Longford Castle, ground plans of the first and second stories, from *Vitruvius Britannicus* 4, by J. Woolfe and J. Gandon (London 1767–1771).

to be seen in opposition to the Gothic. After the reign of Catherine the Great, her neo-Byzantine idiom evolved into a distinctly national, "Old Russian" historic style. Nevertheless, its most lasting legacy may be the general cultural attitude it embodied, that Byzantium was Russia's gateway into Europe.[45]

Acknowledgments

In 2002 when my work on the perception of Byzantium in eighteenth-century Russia was at an early stage of development, Professor Ćurčić encouraged me to pursue the subject more deeply. I would like to thank Ms. Eva Karlsson of the Nationalmuseum of Sweden in Stockholm, Dr. Yuri Pyatnitsky and Ms. Anastasia Mikliaeva of the State Hermitage in St. Petersburg, Ms. Liudmila A. Markina of the Tretiakov Gallery in Moscow, and Ms. Linda Lott from the Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection in Washington, D.C., for providing photographs. The illustrations for this article were purchased with the support of a grant from the Center for Humanities and Arts at UGa. I also thank Dr. Yuri Pyatnitsky for his insightful comments and suggestions, and Stuart Lee Brown for continuous support and patient editing.

Notes

1 E. V. Tarle, "Chesmenskii boi i pervaiia russkaia ekspeditsiia v Arkhipelag (1769–1774)," in *Sochineniia v dvenadtsati tomakh* (Moscow, 1959) 10: 11–91; N. I. Batorevich, *Chesmenkii dvorets* (St. Petersburg, 1997), 18–35; Orlov was supported by British naval officers Rear Admiral John Elphinstone (1722–1785) and Admiral Samuel K. Greig (1736–1788).

2 A. W. Philips, *The War of Greek Independence, 1821–1833* (London, 1987); W. St. Clair, *That Greece Might Be Free: The Philhellenes in the War of Independence* (London, 1972); F. Venturi, *The End of the Old Regime in Europe, 1768–1776. The First Crisis* (Princeton, NJ, 1989), 23–74; N. Diamantouros, *Hoi aparches tēs synkrotēsēs Synchronou Kratous stēn Hellada: 1821–1828* (Athens, 2002).

3 A. Zorin, *Kormia gvuglavogo orla: Literatura i gsudarstevnnaia ideologiia v Rossii v poslednei treti XVIII—pervoi treti XIX veka* (Moscow, 2001), 33–64; S. Batalden, *Catherine II's Greek Prelate Eugenios Voulgaris in Russia, 1771–1806* (New York, 1982); G. L. Bruess, *Religion, Identity and Empire: A Greek Archbishop in the Russia of Catherine the Great* (New York, 1997), 1–87.

4 Zorin, *Kormia*, 64.

5 On the symbolic implications of the vista see D. Shvidkovsky, *The Empress & The Architect. British Architecture and Gardens at the Court of Catherine the Great* (New Haven, 1996), 108; M. V. Nashchokina, "Petrovskii dvorets v Moskve (k istorii sozdaniia)," in *Matvei Fedorovich Kazakov i arkhitektura klasitsizma* (Moscow 1996), 31.

6 Shvidkovsky, *Empress*, 11–39, on Charles Cameron; 103, fig. 117 for the Chesme Column; 106–16, figs. 119–29, for City of Sofia.

7 R. S. Wortman, *Scenarios of Power: Myth and Ceremony in Russian Monarchy*, 1. *From Peter the Great to the Death of Nicholas I* (Princeton, NJ, 1995), 110–65, esp. 127. See also Bruess, *Religion*, 42–3 and Batalden, *Catherine II's Greek Prelate*, 22–3, 44–5.

8 See H. Troyat, *Catherine the Great* (New York, 1980), 306 and 312 citing the Comte de Ségur: "One may indulgently close one's eyes to the errors of a woman who is a great man;" and Prince de Ligne, who referred to the empress as Catherine **le** (*sic*) Grand.

9 A. Van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople. The Walls of the City and Adjoining Historical Sites* (London, 1899), 316–41; Th. K. Makrides "To byzantinon Hebdomon kai ai par' auto Monai Agiou Panteleimonos kai Mamantos," *Thrakika* 10 (1938): 134–97; R. Demangel, *Contribution à la topographie de l'Hebdomon* (Paris, 1945); S. Runciman, "The Country and Suburban Palaces of the Emperors," *Charanis Studies: Essays in Honor of Peter Charanis*, ed. A. E. Laiou-Thomadakis (New Brunswick, NJ, 1980), 219–26.

10 *Byzance retrouvée: Érudits et voyageurs français, XVI—XVIII siècles* (Paris, 2001), Cat. 28, fig. 28, 66–70, features a set of drawings attributed to Franco Battista il Samolei (1510–1561)—the Venetian painter and draughtsman; these show a triumphal procession of Emperor Theodosius the Great, purportedly originating at Hebdomon and passing through the Golden Gate. The drawings, now at the Louvre, supposedly document the reliefs on the lost triumphal column of Theodosius that once stood at the forum of this emperor in Constantinople.

11 I. Kalavrezou, "Helping Hands for the Empire: Imperial Ceremonies and the Cult of Relics at the Byzantine Court," in *Byzantine Court Culture from 829 to 1204*, ed. H. Maguire (Washington, D.C., 1994), 53–79.

12 Pierre Gilles, *The Four Books of the Antiquities of Constantinople* (1729; rpt. New York, 1988), 186–91; C. Du Cange, *Traité historique du chef de S. Iean Baptiste: contant une description exacte de ce que les auteurs anciens & modernes en ont écrit, & particuliérement de ses trios inuentions* (Paris, 1665), 14–16. On Du Cange see also *Byzance retrouvée*, cat. 36, fig. 35, 86–8.

13 Procopius of Caesarea, *Buildings*, 1.8.9–19, ed. and trans. H. B. Dewing, The Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA, 1961), 70–73.

14 M. F. Korshunova, *Iurii Fel'ten* (Leningrad, 1988), 77–9, 94–5; N. A. Evsina, *Russkaia arkhitektura v epokhu Ekateriny II: barokko-klassitsizm-neogotika* (Moscow, 1994), 138–40; Shvidkovsky, *Empress*, 187–90; N. I. Batorevich, *Chesmenkii dvorets* (St. Petersburg, 1997); S. V. Khachaturov, *"Goticheskii vkus" v russkoi khudozhestvennoi kul'ture XVIII veka* (Moscow, 1999), 108–12.

15 The paintings in the Throne Room are attributed to the British marine painter Richard Paton (1717–1791), and those in Chesme Hall to Goethe's friend Jacob Philipp Hakert (1737–1807). See the discussion of the architect Iurii Fel'ten work on this project in Korshunova, *Iurii Fel'ten*, 64–70.

16 The designer was either Antonio Rinaldi or J. B. Vallin de la Mothe (1729–1800); see V. K. Shuiskii, *Jean-Baptiste Vallin de la Mothe* (St. Petersburg, 1997).

17 See Figure 14.3 and the title of the earliest published description of Kekereksinen, which appeared in 1782: M. Svetlov, *The Sights of Note at Chesme Palace, Situated on the Moscow Road, 7 versts from St. Petersburg* (St. Petersburg, 1782).

18 Shvidkovsky, *Empress*, 191–6, 206–10; Nashchokina, "Petrovskii dvorets," 27–35. Named after a nearby monastery, Petrovskii Castle was designed by Matvei

Kazakov (1738–1812), one of the most prolific and influential architects of the neoclassical era in Moscow.

19 Catherine sponsored the construction of numerous travel palaces along the main roads of the empire. For one in the context of an urban design project see A. A. Galashevich, "M. F. Kazakov v Tveri," in *Matvei Fedorovich Kazakov*, 7–12.

20 The ascent to the throne of Paul I (1796–1801), Alexander I (1801–1825), Nicholas I (1825–1855), Alexander II (1855–1881), Alexander III (1881–1894), and finally Nicholas II (1894–1917). See Wortman, *Scenarios* 1; and idem, *Scenarios of Power. Myth and Ceremony in Russian Monarchy* 2. *From Alexander II to the Abdication of Nicholas II* (Princeton, NJ, 2000).

21 Iurii Fe'ten, or Georg Friedrich Veldten, the son of German emigrants, taught architecture at the Imperial Academy of Fine Arts beginning in 1764, and served as director 1789–1801; see Korshunova, *Iurii Fel'ten*.

22 Batorevich, *Chesmenkii dvorets*, 43.

23 Once when she was displeased an entire palace complex was demolished; see Shvidkovsky, *Empress*, 196–206; and D. Shvidkovsky, Y. Shurban, and A. Wood, *Russian Architecture and the West* (New Haven, CT, 2007) 151–3.

24 M. Reaburn, L. Voronokhina, and A. Nurnberg, eds, *The Green Frog Service* (London, 1995). Each vessel displayed the palace's crest of a heraldic green frog. This set comprised 952 pieces featuring 1,222 representations of actual English buildings.

25 Batorevich, *Chesmenkii dvorets*, 48–53, see photographs on 50–51.

26 Ibid., 67–70, drawing on 69–70.

27 Procopius, *Buildings*, 1.8.9–19.

28 Shvidkovsky et al., *Russian Architecture and the West*, 185–96.

29 Ibid., 154–7, figs. 152–4.

30 Ibid., 326, fig. 347.

31 *The Green Frog Service*, 361, no. 957.

32 J. Badeslade and J. Roque, *Vitruvius Britannicus or The British Architect* (1739; rpt. New York, 1967), 2: 94–8.

33 A. G. Cross, *Catherine the Great and the British: A Pot-pourri of Essays* (Nottingham, 2001), 77–81, where the author contemplates the question whether or not Catherine the Great knew English.

34 M. Raeburn, "Catherine the Great and the Image of Britain," in *The Green Frog Service*, 42–56. This insightful essay explains the many levels of meaning associated with English landscape gardens and architecture had in Russian culture from the time of Catherine's reign.

35 V. Fedorov, B. Jangfeldt, and M. Olausson, "The Count of Gotland visits St. Petersburg," in *Catherine the Great & Gustav III* [Stockholm: Nationalmuseum, and St. Petersburg: The State Hermitage Museum] (Helsingborg, 1999), 153–64, cat. 128–9; M. Olausson, *Den Engleska parken i Sverige under gustaviansk tid* (Stockholm, 1993), 164–5, 415 fig. 215.

36 Batorevich, *Chesmenkii dvorets*, 61 (my translation).

37 Shvidkovsky, *Empress*, 187–8; Khachaturov, *Goticheskii vkus*, 108–12; Shvidkovsky et al., *Russian Architecture and the West*, 238; E. I. Kirichenko, "Neklassicheskie tendentsii v russkoi arkhitekture epokhi klassitsizma," in *Matvei Fedorovich Kazakov*, 142–59.

38 Shvidkovsky, *Empress*, 101–4, figs. 115–16, 118.

39 Korshunova, *Iurii Fel'ten*, 81–3; Batorevich, *Chesmenkii dvorets*, 89–100.

40 Ćurčić and Hadjitryphonos, *Secular Medieval Architecture*, 166–9, 196–9.

41 An idiosyncrasy of these "neo-medieval buildings" is their notable adherence to the regularity of classical orders. Shvidkovsky, *Empress*, 187, states that they are "strictly symmetrical and classically regular, but what fascinated contemporaries was the symbolism of the medieval architecture," namely "the spirit of chivalry." If one acknowledges the intended neo-Byzantine character of these structures then the purposeful merger of antique and medieval features acquires new significance as a conceptually relevant aspect of the design.

42 Shvidkovsky, *Empress*, 206–10.

43 Ibid., 206–10 and Nashchokina, "Petrovskii dvorets."

44 Nashchokina, "Petrovskii dvorets."

45 See P. R. Roosevent, *Apostle of Russian Liberalism: Timofei Granovsky* (Newtonville, MA, 1986); and M. Wes, *Classics in Russia 1700–1855: Between Two Bronze Horsemen* (Leiden, New York and Köln, 1992), 323–55; also cf. D. Obolensky, "Russia's Byzantine Heritage," in *Byzantium and the Slavs: Collected Studies* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1971), part III, 119, cited also by Shvidkovsky et al., *Russian Architecture and the West*, 13.

Bibliography of Published Writings

"The Twin-Domed Narthex in Palaeologan Architecture," *ZVRI* 13 (1971): 333–44.

"The Nemanjić Family Tree in the Light of the Ancestral Cult in the Church of Joachim and Anna at Studenica," *ZRVI* 14/15 (1973): 191–5.

"Review of Gordana Babić, *Les chapelles annexes des églises byzantine. Fonction liturgique et programmes iconographiques*," *ArtB* 55 (1973): 448–51.

"Art Forms and Imperial Ambitions in Serbia between 1300 and 1350," *Abstracts of Papers Delivered in Art History Sessions, 63rd Annual Meeting, College Art Association of America*, January 22–25, 1975, Washington, D.C., 7.

"Evolution of the Middle Byzantine Five-Domed Church Type," *BSCAbstr* 1 (1975): 31–2.

"Origins of Thirteenth-Century Church Architecture in Serbia," *BSCAbstr* 2 (1976): 21–2.

"Review of David and Tamara Rice, *Icons and Their History*," *SR* 35 (1976): 392–3.

"Domed Bemas in Byzantine Churches: Architecture vs. Iconography," *BSCAbstr* 3 (1977): 49–51.

"Review of Draga Panić and Gordana Babić, *Bogorodica Ljeviška*," *ArtB* 59 (1977), 632–5

"Review of Thomas Mathews, *The Byzantine Churches of Istanbul. A Photographic Survey*," *JSAH* 36 (1977): 280–82.

"Two Examples of Local Building Workshops in Fourteenth-Century Serbia," *Zograf* 7 (1977): 45–51.

"The Architectural Significance of Subsidiary Chapels in Middle Byzantine Church Architecture," *JSAH* 36 (1977): 94–110.

"The Architectural Significance of the Hilandar Katholikon," *BSCAbstr* 4 (1978): 14–15.

"Articulation of Church Facades during the First Half of the Fourteenth Century. A Study in the Relationship of Byzantine and Serbian Architecture," *L'art byzantine au debut du XIV^e^ siècle* (Belgrade, 1978), 17–27.

"Church Architecture of the Serbo-Greek Empire (1346–71)," *BSCAbstr* 5 (1979): 37–8.

Gračanica. King Milutin's Church and Its Place in Late Byzantine Architecture. University Park, 1979.

"The Original Baptismal Font of Gračanica and Its Iconographic Setting," *Zbornik Narodnog muzeja u Beogradu*, 9–10 (1979): 313–23.

"Review of Heide and Helmut Buschhausen, *Die Marienkirche von Apollonia in Albanien*," *Speculum* 54 (1979): 353–58.

"Architectural Reconsideration of the Nea Ekklesia," *BSCAbstr* 6 (1980): 11–12.

"Review of A. H. S. Megaw and E. J. W. Hawkins, *The Church of the Panagia Kanakaria at Lythrankoni in Cyprus*," *Speculum* 55 (1980): 812–16.
"Pyrgos—Stl'p—Donjon. A Western Fortification Concept on Mount Athos and Its Sources," *BSCAbstr* 7 (1981): 21–2.
"Review of D. Nagorni, *Die Kirche Sv. Petar in Bijelo Polje (Montenegro). Ihre Stellung in der Geschichte der serbischen Architektur*," *Speculum* 56 (1981): 637–41.
"Review of V. Korać, *Studenica Hvostanska*," *ByzSt* 9 (1982): 141–5.
Art and Architecture in the Balkans: An Annotated Bibliography. Boston, 1984.
"Medieval Royal Tombs in the Balkans: An Aspect of the 'East or West' Question," *GOTR* 29 (1984): 175–94.
"Review of Heinrich Nickel, *Medieval Architecture in Eastern Europe*," *SR* 44 (1985): 187–88.
"An Early Byzantine Basilica at Polis, Cyprus," *The 17th International Byzantine Studies Congress, 1986. Abstracts of Short Papers* (Washington, D.C., 1986), 87–88
Byzantium at Princeton [Exhibition catalog] ed. S. Ćurčić and A. St. Clair. Princeton, 1986.
"Epitaphios," *Byzantium at Princeton*, ed. S. Ćurčić and A. St. Clair. Princeton, 1986, 135–8.
"Konak," *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, ed. J. Strayer. New York, 1986, 7: 284.
Richard Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, The Pelican History of Art, 4th edn. revised by R. Krautheimer and S. Ćurčić. Harmondsworth, 1986.
"Palace and Tomb: Display and Source of Authority in Late Antiquity and Byzantium," *BSCAbstr* 12 (1986): 11–12.
Hilandar Monastery: An Archive of Architectural Drawings, Sketches and Photographs [Exhibition Catalog]. Princeton, 1987.
"Some Palatine Aspects of the Cappella Palatina in Palermo," *DOP*, 41 (1987): 145–65.
"Architecture of Lesnovo in the Light of Political Realities in mid-Fourteenth-Century Macedonia," *BSCAbstr*14 (1988): 22.
"Byzantine Legacy in Ecclesiastical Architecture of the Balkans after 1453," *The Byzantine Legacy in Eastern Europe*, ed. L. Clucas. Boulder, CO, 1988, 59–81.
Gračanica. Istorija i arhitektura (Belgrade and Pristina, 1988); 2nd edn, Pristina, 1998.
"Hilandar Monastery," *The Princeton University Library Chronicle*, 49 (1988): 200–18.
"A Paradigm—or Not? Review of Rowland Mainstone, *Hagia Sophia: Architecture, Structure, and Liturgy of Justinian's Great Church," Times Literary Supplement*, no. 4452 (July 29–August 4, 1988), 834.
"Serbian Art and Architecture," *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, ed. J. Strayer. New York, 1988, 11: 183–8.
"Architecture in the Byzantine Sphere of Influence around the Middle of the Fourteenth Century," *Dečani et l'art byzantine au milieu du XIV^e siècle*. Belgrade, 1989, 55–68.
"Vita of Kotor," *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, ed. J. Strayer. New York, 1989, 12: 478.
"Architecture," in E. Kitzinger, *The Mosaics of St. Mary of the Admiral of Palermo*, DOS 27. Washington, D. C., 1990, 27–104; Italian edn, Palermo, 1990.
"Review of James Cracraft, *The Petrine Revolution in Russian Architecture*," *AHR* (June 1990): 868–9.
"Corpus of Serbian Church Architecture, 1355–1459," with S. Popović, *Summaries of Communications, 18th International Congress of Byzantine Studies*. Moscow, 1991, 1: 259.
"The Significance and Sources of the 'Morava School' Architecture," *Summaries of Communications, 18th International Congress of Byzantine Studies*. Moscow, 1991, 1: 258.
The Twilight of Byzantium. Aspects of Cultural and Religious History in the Late Byzantine Empire. Papers from the Colloquium Held at Princeton University 8–9 May 1989, ed. S. Ćurčić and D. Mouriki. Princeton, 1991.

"Late Byzantine *Loca Sancta*? Some Questions Regarding the Form and Function of the Epitaphioi," *The Twilight of Byzantium*, ed. S. Ćurčić and D. Mouriki. Princeton, 1991, 251–61.

"Architecture," *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, ed. A. Khazdan (New York and Oxford, 1991) 1: 157–59. Also the following entries: "Aedicula," "Belltower," "Brickwork Techniques and Patterns," "Chapel," "Church Plan Types," "Dome," "Drum," "Façade," Gračanica," "Marble," "Naos," Narthex," "Palace," "Palace Chapel," "Pyrgos," "Serbia, Architecture of."

"Arhitektura crkava manasira Svetih Arhandjela i problemi njihove obnove (Architecture of the Churches in the Monastery of the Holy Archangels and the Problem of Their Restoration)," *Savetovanje o problemima obnove manasira Svetih Arhandjela kod Prizrena*. Belgrade, 1992, 42–6.

"Design and Innovation in Byzantine Architecture before H. Sophia," *Haghia Sophia from the Age of Justinian to the Present*, ed. R. Mark and A. Çakmak. Cambridge, 1992, 16–38.

"Justinianic Impost Capitals: Some Questions Regarding Their Origins and Meaning,"*BSCAbstr* 18 (1992): 53–4.

"Alexander's Tomb: A Column or a Tower? A Fourteenth-Century Case of Verbal Confusion and Visual Interpretation," *To Ellenikion. Studies in Honor of Speros Vryonis, Jr.*, New York, 1993, 2: 25–48.

"Late Antique Palaces: The Meaning of Urban Context," *Ars Orientalis*, 23 (1993): 67–90.

"Opening Gates: Medieval Russia on Tour. Review of the Exhibition 'The Gates of Mystery: The Art of Holy Russia," *Apollo* (July 1993): 47–8.

"Review of John Yiannis, *The Byzantine Tradition after the Fall of Constantinople*," *Speculum*, 69 (1994): 277–9.

"Some Uses (and Re-uses) of Griffins in Late Byzantine Art," *Byzantine East, Latin West. Art Historical Studies in Honor of Kurt Weitzmann*, ed. D. Mouriki. Princeton, 1995, 597–604.

"From the Temple of the Sun to the Temple of the Lord: Monotheistic Contribution to Architectural Iconography in Late Antiquity," *Architectural Studies in Memory of Richard Krautheimer*, ed. C. L. Striker. Mainz, 1996, 55–9.

"Gračanica," *The Dictionary of Art*, ed. J. Turner. New York, 1996, 13: 264–5.

"Istanbul, II. Buildings, 12. Great Palace," *The Dictionary of Art*, ed. J. Turner. New York, 1996) 16: 605–8.

"Serbia. II. Architecture, 2. 1169–1459," *The Dictionary of Art*, ed. J. Turner. New York, 1996, 28: 439–43.

Secular Medieval Architecture in the Balkans, 1300–1500 and Its Preservation, ed. S. Ćurčić and E. Hadjitryphonos. Thessalonike, 1997.

"Architecture in the Age of Insecurity: An Introduction to Secular Architecture in the Balkans, 1300–1500," *Secular Medieval Architecture in the Balkans, 1300–1500, and Its Preservation*, ed. S. Ćurčić and E. Hadjitryphonos. Thessalonike, 1997, 19–51.

"Tower of King Milutin, Mt. Athos, Greece," *Secular Medieval Architecture in the Balkans, 1300–1500, and Its Preservation*, ed. S. Ćurčić and E. Hadjitryphonos. Thessalonike, 1997, 216–17.

(With Köksal Anadol) "Galata Tower, Istanbul, Turkey," *Secular Medieval Architecture in the Balkans, 1300–1500, and Its Preservation*, ed. S. Ćurčić and E. Hadjitryphonos. Thessalonike, 1997, 228–9.

"Early Christian and Byzantine Art, II. Architecture, 3. Secular, (ii) Palaces," *The Dictionary of Art*, ed. J. Turner. New York, 1996, 9: 556–60.

"Byzantine Architecture in Cyprus: An Introduction to the Problem of the Genesis of a Regional Style," *Medieval Cyprus. Studies in Art, Architecture, and History in Memory of Doula Mouriki*, ed. N. Ševčenko and K. Moss. Princeton, 1999, 71–91.
"Byzantine or Romanesque? The Question of Style in Medieval Ecclesiastical Architecture of Serbia," *BSCAbstr* 25 (1999): 15–16.
"Destruction of Serbian Cultural Patrimony in Kosovo: A World-Wide Precedent?" *Serbian Studies*, 14/2 (2000): 125–31; also published in *Bulletin of British Byzantine Studies*, 26 (2000): 101–6.
"Fortification Architecture in Medieval Balkans," *Hi Kathimerini. Epta himeres* (March 5, 2000), 2–5 (in Greek).
"The Meaning and Function of Katechoumenia in Late Byzantine and Serbian Architecture," *Manistir Žiča. Zbornik radova* (Kraljevo, 2000), 83–90 (in Serbian with English summary).
Middle Byzantine Architecture on Cyprus: Provincial or Regional? Nicosia, 2000.
"Proskynetaria Icons, Saints' Tombs, and the Development of the Iconostasis," *The Iconostasis. Origins, Evolution, Symbolism*, ed. A. Lidov, Moscow, 2000, 134–60.
Some Observations and Questions regarding Early Christian Architecture in Thessaloniki. Thessalonike, 2000.
"The Exonarthex of Hilandar. The Question of Its Function and Patronage," *Huit siècles du monastère de Hilandar*, ed. V. Korać. Belgrade, 2001, 477–87.
"Function and Form. Church Architecture in Bulgaria, 4th–19th Centuries," in *Treasures of Christian Art in Bulgaria*, ed. V. Pace (Sofia, 2001), 46–66; Italian edition (Sofia, 2001).
"Late Medieval Fortified Palaces in the Balkans: Security and Survival," *Mnemeio kai perivallon* 6 (2001): 11–48.
Naupara (with S. Popović), Corpus of Late Medieval Architecture of Serbia, 1355–1459, 1 (Belgrade, 2001)
"Review of Cecil Striker and Doğan Kuban, *Kalenderhane in Istanbul: The Buildings, Their History, Architecture, and Decoration*," *Speculum*, 76 (2001): 1106–9.
"The House in the Byzantine World," *Everyday Life in Byzantium*, ed. D. Papanikola-Bakirtzi (Athens, 2002), 228–38 (English and Greek edns).
"The Role of Byzantine Thessalonike in Church Architecture in the Balkans," *DOP*, 57 (2003): 65–84.
"House or House of God? Planning Ambiguities in Byzantine Architecture," *Eikosto tetarto symposio Byzantines kai Metabyzantines archaiologias kai technes*. Athens, 2004, 24–5.
"A Lost Byzantine Monastery at Palatitzia-Vergina," *Mnemeio kai perivallon / Monument and Environment*, 8 (2004): 13–30.
"Religious Settings of the Late Byzantine Sphere," *Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261–1557)*, ed. H. Evans. New York, 2004, 65–77.
"Some Reflections on the Flying Buttresses of Hagia Sophia in Istanbul," *Sanat Tarihi Defterlri* 8 (2004): 7–22.
"'Renewed from the Very Foundations': The Question of Genesis of the Bogorodica Ljeviška in Prizren," *Archaeology in Architecture: Studies in Honor of Cecil L. Striker*, ed. J. Emerick and D. Deliyannis. Mainz, 2005, 23–35.
"Unobserved Contributions of Hilandar to the Development of Serbian Medieval Architecture," *The Holy Mountain—Thoughts and Studies*, 4 (2005): 18–37 (in Serbian with English summary).
"Stylite Saints and Ambos. 'Boundaries' of the Uncontainable in Byzantine Church Iconography," *Ideia i obraz. Principi i metodi issledovaniia iskusstva vizantiiskogo i postvizantiiskogo mira (Idea and Image. Principles and Methods in the Study of Art of the Byzantine and Post Byzantine World)*. Moscow, 2005, 41–2.

"Cave and Church. An Eastern Christian Hierotopical Synthesis," *Hierotopy. The Creation of Sacred Spaces in Byzantium and Medieval Russia*, ed. A. Lidov. Moscow, 2006, 216–36.
"Monastic Cells in Medieval Serbian Church Towers. Survival of an Early Byzantine Monastic Concept and Its Meaning," *Sofia. Sbornik statei po iskusstvu Vizantii i Drevnei Rusi v chest A. I. Komecha*. Moscow, 2006, 491–512.
"Sacred Space in Byzantine Church Architecture: an Hierotopical Approach," *Proceedings of the 21st International Congress of Byzantine Studies, London, 21–26 August, 2006. Volume II. Abstracts of Communications*, ed. F. K. Hareer, et al. Aldershot, 2006, 212–14.
"'Secular' Architecture: Pitfalls of Categorization," *Proceedings of the 21st International Congress of Byzantine Studies, London, 21–26 August, 2006. Volume III. Abstracts of Communications*, ed. F. K. Hareer, et al. Aldershot, 2006, 66–7.
"Gračanica and the Cult of the Saintly Prince Lazar," *ZVRI*, 44 (2007): 465–72.
"Heritage," *Kosovo. Christian Orthodox Heritage and Contemporary Catastrophe*, ed. A. Lidov. Moscow, 2007, 17–160.
"Topography of Anxiety: 'North Macedonia' and its Fortifications from 4th to 6th c. AD. [review of Ivan Mikulčić, *Spätantike und frühbyzantinische Befestigungen in Nordmakedonien*]," *JRA* 20 (2007): 670–73.
"The 'Absence of Byzantium': The Role of the Name," *Nea Estia 82*, v. 164, no. 1814 (Sept. 2008): 492–500 (in Greek).
"Church Towers," *Annexes and Additions in Early Christian, Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Churches*, Aimos-EMMABP, 2nd Seminar, ed. F. Karagianni. Thessalonike, 2008, 103–11.
"Byzantine Aspects of Church Towers in Norman Sicily," *Giorgio d'Antiochia. L'arte della politica in Sicilia nel XII secolo tra Bisanzio e l'Islam. Atti del convegno internazionale (Palermo, 19–20 aprile 2007)*, ed. M. Re and C. Rognoni, Byzantino-Sicula, 5. Palermo, 2009, 65–85, tav. III–XXI.
"Representations of Towers in Byzantine Art: The Question of Meaning," *Byzantine Art: Recent Studies: Essays in Honor of Lois Drewer*, ed. C. Hourihane, Arizona Studies in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, 33; Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 378. Princeton, 2009, 1–35.
"Secular and Sacred in Byzantine Architecture," *Anathemata Eortika. Studies in Honor of Thomas F. Mathews*, ed. J. Alchermes, et al. Mainz am Rhein, 2009, 110–17.
H Architektonike os Eikona: Proslepse kai Anaparastase tes Architektonikes ste Byzantine Techne. ed. S. Ćurčić and E. Hadjitryphonos. Thessalonike, 2009.
Architecture as Icon: Perceptions and Representations of Architecture in Byzantine Art, ed. S. Ćurčić and E. Hadjitryphonos. New Haven, CT, 2010.
"Architecture as Icon," *Architecture as Icon: Perceptions and Representations of Architecture in Byzantine Art*, ed. S. Ćurčić and E. Hadjitryphonos. New Haven, CT, 2010, 3–37; catalogue entries 43, 44, 46, 48 and 53.
Architecture in the Balkans from Diocletian to Süleyman the Magnificent (300–1550) New Haven, CT, 2010.
"Christianization of Thessalonike: The Making of Christian Urban Topography," *From Roman to Early Christian Thessalonike: Studies in Religion and Archaeology*, ed. L. Nasrallah, C. Bakirtzis and S. J. Friesen, Harvard Theological Studies, 64. Cambridge, MA, 2010, 213–44.
"Some Further Thoughts on the Architecture and Art of the Cappella Palatina in Palermo," *Die Cappella Palatina in Palermo: Geschichte, Kunst, Funktionen. Forschungensergebnisse der Restaurierungen [Gebundene Ausgabe]*, ed. T. Dittelbach. Künzelsau, 2011, 131–46, 379–85, 525–33.

"Divine Light: Symbolic and Material Aspects of Byzantine Architecture," *Architecture of the Sacred: Space, Ritual, and Experience from Classical Greece to Byzantium*, ed. B. Wescoat and R. Ousterhout. Cambridge, in press.

"'Diaconicon ' as a Monastic Cell. The Question of Functional Intentions in Monastic Church Architecture of Serbia and Byzantium," *SYMEIKTA. Collection of Papers on the 40th Anniversary of the Institute for Art History of the Faculty of Philosophy, Belgrade University*, ed. I. Stevović (Belgrade, in press) (in Serbian with English summary).

"Architecture in Byzantium, Serbia, and the Balkans through the Lenses of Modern Historiography." *Serbien und Byzanz*, ed. C. Sode and M. Angar. Cologne, in press.

"Relevance and Irrelevance of Space in Byzantine Ecclesiastical Architecture," *The Notion of Space in Byzantine Architecture.* Aimos-EMMABP, 4th seminar, ed. E. Hadjitryphonos, Thessalonike, in press.

"'Living Icons' in Byzantine Churches: Image and Practice in Eastern Christianity," *Spatial Icons: Performativity in Byzantium and Medieval Russia*, ed. A. Lidov. Moscow, in press.

Index

adelphaton, 196, 198
Adrian I, pope, 268
Adrianus, see Palazzo Adriano
Agapetos, 125, 136
Agios Vasileios,
  monastery, 175–8
  tower, 165–85, 190, 194
Akathistos Hymn, 127, 130
Alexander the Great, 173, 215
Alexios Apokauchos, 239, 242
Amphipolis,
  Marmarion Tower, 190, 196
Anicia Juliana, 13
Apa Abraham, panel portrait, 211
architecture,
  Byzantine, 99–119
  Palaiologan, 145, 156, 243
  secular, 7–8, 15–17
Armenia, 83–95
arsenal, 195
artists in inscriptions, 225
Asenovgrad,
  Virgin Petrichka, 109–12
Athens,
  Parthenon, 19
atrophied Greek-cross type church plan, 101, 105, 116

Balkans, architecture of, 5, 7
Bangor, 75
Bartholomew of Simeri, 70–72
Bernard of Clairvaux, 70, 75
belt buckles, 40, 42
Benedict XII, pope, 267, 270
Benedict of Nursia, 70, 73
Bivongi,
  S. Giovanni Vecchio, 75
Bulgaria, church architecture, 9
Bulgarian National Archive, 245, 251
burials, church, 32–3, 39, 42

Calabria, as source for timber, 264
Cameron, Charles, 280
capital, Theodosian, 29
Catherine the Great, 277–98
  as "Northern Minerva", 280
  as "New Justinian", 280
Cefalù,
  Cathedral, 68–70
Çelebi, Evliya, 175–6
ceramoplastic discs, 147, 148–9
chapels, private, 194
Chesme Column, see Sofia
Chesme Palace, see Kekereksinen
Chios,
  Nea Moni, 149, 251, 254
  Panagia Krina, 151, 253
  Panagia Sikelia, 149
church facades, 7
city gates, 3

Cappadocia, 12
Chrysaliniotissa church, 204
Constantine, sebastokrator, tomb, 205–6,
Constantinople
  Christ in Chora (Kariye Camii), 101, 136, 203, 204, 243, 245
  H. Photeine, 73
  H. Polyeuktos, 13–14
  H. Sophia, 19
  Holy Apostles, 4, 216, 254
  Mausoleum of Constantine, 254
  Monastery of Constantine Lips (Fenari Isa Camii), 148, 152
  Myrelaion Church (Bodrum Camii), 148
  Tekfur Saray, 154
coronation ceremony, 282
cross-in-square church plan, 248
cultural interchange, 17–18
Cyprus, architecture, 9

David, compared to rulers, 124, 130, 209
Dendrochronology, 11
Dionysios of Fourna, 226, 228, 230
Divine Liturgy, scenes of, 127, 130
domed-octagon church type, 249, 253
domes, 7, 110, 127
Dušan, Stefan Uroš IV, 156, 158, 210

Edwards, Robert, 87
enklopion, 204
epitaphios, 211, 219 n 27
Eugene IV, pope, 177

Fel'ten, Iurii, 285, 289, 291, 293
folklore, 172–5
formal analysis, 13
fortifications, 8, 16, 87, 195
functions of buildings, 15

Galatista,
  Tower, 171, 182 n 16, 190, 194, 195
Ginosa,
  S. Pietro, 72
gisant, 210–11
Gračanica,
  Church of the Dormition, 6–7
Gregory I the Great, pope, 267
Gregory VII, pope, 269
grave goods, 33

Hebdomon, 282, 287, 293
Heraclius, emperor, 89–90
hetoimasia, 134
Hippocrates manuscript (Paris gr. 2144), 242
historiography, 5–6, 18, 83–95
Holy Mountain, see Mount Athos
Hormisdas, 63, n 12
horn of unction, 123, 126
houses, Byzantine, 4

icons, 4, 209
Isaak Komnenos, 101, 203, 204, 215
island octagon church type, 253
Istanbul, see Constantinople

John Komnenos, emperor, 215
John VI Kantakouzenos, emperor, 196
John of Matera, 72
John Theriste, 73
Justinianic Plague, 40

Kaminiates, Ioannis, 173–4
Kamsetzer, Johann Christian, 251–3
Kekereksinen Palace, 282–3, 284, 286–94
  Chapel of St. John the Baptist, 282, 287–90, 291
kiln, 30
Kosovo, monument preservation, 9–10
Krautheimer, Richard, 12, 88–9

Kučevište,
Church of the Holy Archangels, 154
Kuršumlija,
St. Nikola, 102–7, 109
Tower of Mara, 198
Kurşunlu,
St. Aberkios, 105–8

Laskarid architecture, 12
lamps, terracotta, 30, 39–40
Latmos,
Church No. 4, 151
Lazarica, 145, 151
Leo the Great, pope, 263, 264
Liber pontificalis, 263
Lincoln College typikon, 207
liturgy, 14

Macedonian School, 225
Mainstone, Rowland, 17
Mango, Cyril, 12–13
Manuel I Komnenos, emperor, 123
Manuel Palaiologos, 166
Manuel Paselinos, 221–2, 226–35
Manuel Philes, 205–6
Maria of Mangop, 211
Mariana,
Tower, 190, 194, 196
Marko, king, 121–4, 127, 136
Megaspelaion Monastery, 204
Messembria (modern Nessebar), 152
Messina,
S. Salvatore de Lingua Phari, 70–72
metaphor, 229–31
Milutin, King Stefan Uroš II, 4
miracles, building, 67–81
Mistra, 143
monograms, 239–42
Monreale,
Cathedral, 75, 77
monotheism, 3
Montevergine, 72–3
Morava School, 143–61
Moscow,
Kremlin, 289
Petrovskii Castle, 285, 293–5
Mount Athos, 114, 187, 190, 195
Hilandar Monastery, 156, 158
Tower of St. Sava, 190
Karyes, Protaton Church, 221–5, 230–31
Kolitsou Tower, 190, 193, 194, 196
Vatopedi Monastery, 194
Mount Chortaitis,
Monastery of the Theotokos, 174
Mren, 89, 90, 91
Murad, Sultan, 57

Nemanja, Stefan, 112
Nemea, 3
Nikon of Sparta, 70

oculus, 147–8, 153, 154, 156
oikodomos, 17, 99
ossuaries, 39–40
Ousterhout, Robert, 99

palaces, 3
Palazzo Adriano,
St. Mary, 76–8
Palermo,
Cappella Palatina, 121
Cathedral, 75
Church of the Martorana, 3
S. Spirito, 75, 78
palls, funerary, 211
Peter, St. apparition of, 72
Pherrai,
Panagia Kosmosoteira, 203
icon of the Virgin, 204, 209
tomb of Isaak Komnenos, 204, 206
typikon, 203, 209
Polis/Arsinoë, 3, 27–46
Basilica A, 29–35
Basilica B, 35–41

portraits, imperial and aristocratic
funerary, 203–19
Prizren,
Monastery of the Holy Archangels,
158, 210
Procopius, 284, 287
Prudentius, 263
protomaistor, 99, 145

recessed-brick technique, 102, 253
Rila,
Monastery, 182 n 16, 196
Robert Guiscard, 75–6
Roger II, king, 67–8, 75, 77
Rome,
St. John Lateran, 269–70
S. Paolo fuori le mura 259–76
St. Peter's, 268, 269
roof, open–timber, 272
roof restorations, 259–63
rose window, 143–61
Apulian, 147
Gothic, 147–8
Rossano,
S. Maria del Patirion, 70–72
Royal Deesis, 127, 130, 134–6
royal entrances, 121–42

sarcophagus, 248
Serbo-Byzantine school, 153
Serres,
Tower, 196–8
Shenoute, 70
Silivri/Selymbria,
St. John, 239–49, 254–5
St. Spyridon, 249–55
Sirmium, 3
Split,
Palace of Diocletian, 3
Sofia, Russia, 279–80
Chesme Column, 277–80
St. Sophia, 280
spolia, 18, 39, 47–65, 190
St. Petersburg,
Peterhof, 284
Stanimaka, see Asenovgrad
Stilo, 73
structural analysis, 17
Strzygowski, Josef, 83–4, 86, 88–9, 91
Studenica,
Church of the Virgin, 112–15
sun disc, 154
Sušica, near Skopje,
Marko's Monastery (St. Demetrios),
121–42, 153
symbolism, architectural, 14

Tchaprachinkov, Stéfane, 245
Terracina, 70
Theodora Synadene, 205–7
Theodore Prodromos, 215
Thessalonike, 5, 7, 11–12, 16
city walls, 49–53, 63 n 12
Eptapyrgion, 57–9, 61
Hagia Sophia, 5, 12, 54–7
Hippodrome, 51–4
Holy Apostles, 12, 152
Palace of Galerius, 49
Panagia Chalkeon, 57, 59–60
Roman agora, 49
Rotunda, 5
Thierry, Jean-Michel and Nicole, 87
timbers, for roof beams, 264, 267–8
towers, 16, 165–72, 187–202
chapels, 194
latrines, 194
wood floors, 193
Trebizond,
H. Sophia, 123
Treska,
St. Nicholas Šiševski, 154
Tsarskoe Selo, 277, 281, 284, 293
typikon, 203–4, 206, 207, 209
typology, 13–14

UNESCO, 9–10

Venosa,
Holy Trinity Monastery, 75–6
Veria, fortification wall, 63, n 6
Virgin Mary, apparition, 72, 75, 77
Vitruvius, 16
Vitruvius Brittanicus, 289
Vukašin, king, 121, 123, 124, 130, 136

Walter Ophamil, 75
weaponry, 40
Wedgwood Green Frog dinner service, 286, 291
William I, king, 76–7
William II, king, 75
William VIII, Duke of Aquitaine, 269
William of Vercelli, 72–3
Wiltshire, Langford Castle, 289

The fourteen essays in this collection demonstrate a wide variety of approaches to the study of Byzantine architecture and its decoration, a reflection of both newer trends and traditional scholarship in the field. The variety is also a reflection of Professor Ćurčić's wide interests, which he shares with his students. These include the analysis of recent archaeological discoveries; recovery of lost monuments through archival research and onsite examination of material remains; reconsidering traditional typological approaches often ignored in current scholarship; fresh interpretations of architectural features and designs; contextualization of monuments within the landscape; tracing historiographic trends; and mining neglected written sources for motives of patronage.

The papers also range broadly in terms of chronology and geography, from the Early Christian through the post-Byzantine period and from Italy to Armenia. Three papers examine Early Christian monuments, and of these, two expand the inquiry into their architectural afterlives. Others discuss later monuments in Byzantine territory and monuments in territories related to Byzantium such as Serbia, Armenia, and Norman Italy. No Orthodox church being complete without interior decoration, two papers discuss issues connected with frescoes in late-medieval Balkan churches. Finally, one study investigates the continued influence of Byzantine palace architecture long after the fall of Constantinople.

Cover image: By Robert Ousterhout.

an informa business

ISBN 978-1-4094-2740-7

9 781409 427407

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group
www.routledge.com